Signs of Dictator's Downfall

(LETTERS FROM SOUTH KOREA)

BY T.K.

Editor's Note

This book contains some of the "Letters from South Korea" carried in the Japanese journal *Sekai* (from September 1975 to August 1976).

Despite the fascist repression by the Pak Jung Hi puppet villains who have converted south Korea into a big prison and a hell on earth, the patriotic democratic personages and people in all walks of life in south Korea are waging an unyielding struggle for democratization of south Korea and independent peaceful reunification of the country

Today, honest-minded peoples and personages in every sphere of life in the world are extending constant support and encouragement to the fighting south Korean people, mercilessly exposing and condemning the fascist tyranny of the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique.

The Pak Jung Hi puppet clique which has already been forsaken by the people and become an international orphan is making every desperate effort to prolong its doomed life.

The readers of this book will be able to learn the south Korean people's struggle for the democratization of society and the independent reunification of the country and a part of homicidal crimes committed by the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique.

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ence we have gone through personally has already a history of more than 30 years. The government is harping on the same thing inspiring a fear of the north. It is alleged that this year will see invasion from the north. Then comes the allegation that the north is planning to attack next year. Yet another version says that the north will complete its preparations for southward invasion in the October of the current year. Further, it is said that the north is bent on "fermenting" social confusion in the south before it opens an attack.

There is a Korean saying which goes: The hypocrite makes others ill and then administers them medicines. This applies well to the Pak regime. It imprisons critical persons. It receives petitions from many people, and then pretends to show mercy on them. Those persons deserve severe punishment, it claims, but they are spared for mercy's sake. It has been announced that by the next spring all professors of the universities, either public or private, shall be screened and reappointed. Many professors are in a blue funk. The Pak regime makes people feel uneasy like this, and then makes a show of leniency. Professors have already been expelled as if for a warning, and it is rumoured that the universities have received new secret lists of professors marked for purge. Now the university authorities should send in petitions to the KCIA and the Ministry of Education, petitions for milder punishment and for reduction of the number of the punishable. This will put the KCIA in a position of a "benefactor", and thus the KCIA will secure the loyalty of both the universities and

the individuals concerned.

In spite of such goings-on, everyone keeps silent. By giving notice beforehand that the screening will take place early next year, it seems the government contemplates guaranteeing a quiet autumn and winter and spring from now. If this device turns out effective, they might repeat the shake-up of the university faculties every year. Without such an artifice, the Pak regime is condemned. Here is the weak point of this regime, but many regard it as a demonstration of its great strength.

The Pak regime has a dark future before it, both internally and externally. I heard one friend, back from an overseas trip recently, say that he was surprised at the isolation of the Pak regime on the international scene. He had little thought it would be so much hopeless Here is what he said: "The isolation of the Pak regime is not of a kind that could be broken by a policy change. It couldn't be dissipated before the Pak regime itself is gone. This regime is going to try conclusions with the north with such an ugly image. It is probable that the more it feels isolated, the more it torments the people to prolong its rule."

Economically, too, it is stranded. The more choked it becomes, the more fanatically it clings to a sort of spiritualism, it appears. In Suwon situated to the south of Seoul, there is the New Village leaders training school. Its programme includes a week of spiritual training. The trainees comprise high-ranking officials, managers of enterprises, professors and other kinds of "leaders" from all quarters and social strata. Even

after finishing the training course, the alumni should regularly meet and admonish one another against clouding their minds cleansed by the brainwashing.

In anti-communist education every means is used to inspire fear in the people by indoctrinating the dogma that opposition to the government stems straight from the Red thought. There were north-inspired Communists as well as people who sympathized unwittingly with them before, it is claimed, but now there are "spontaneous communist groups". These people have turned communist without contact with the north, and are infiltrating everywhere, they say. True, no one says that they have infiltrated into the government or the KCIA. But it is definitely affirmed that they have found their way into churches and campuses. This weapon of anti-communism is the only means of rule in the hands of the Pak regime.

This regime fears three forces: army, students, and Christians. It is considered easy to control the army, which it thinks it has already taken in hand organizationally. It was also deemed necessary to keep the students under such organizational control, and thus the Student National Defence Corps has been formed throughout the country. The students' extracurricular activities should also be subordinated to this end. And a sharp lookout is kept for the small number of critical students presumably still remaining in schools, and steps are taken to evict them at the first opportunity.

Professors often receive phone calls at midnight. In many cases they are from organizations bearing such horrible names as the "Patriotic Skeleton Corps". The message is: "If you have got any connection with a

Christian church, have done with it, or else, you're a dead man." Another kind of blackmail is: "Even if you're back from the KCIA, don't think everything is OK." It is said that the top brass of the KCIA is also in an uncomfortable atmosphere these days. The reshuffle of its personnel is frequent because their loyalty is doubted. How long will the present regime last by using such methods? One of the KCIA bosses lamented.

The implication is that if the Pak regime is cornered by the criticizing forces, it will give cause for fearing that the north might start attacking the south. Then, the people, as if awakened from slumber, cry out for anti-communism. The simpleminded masses even made much ado to prepare parched rice powder for wartime provisions. A foreigner is said to have seen off with a melancholy feeling a Korean woman who walked off after saying in a tearful voice: "This may be our last meeting. Peace be with you! Farewell!" Such pretexts *are found out by the Pak regime to repress the people.* Thus, it crushes the force mustered with difficulty by the criticizing forces.

I have already said that there is in Suwon the New Village leaders training school for brainwashing. It is said that there, curious to relate, some time is dedicated every morning to meditation when the trainees are required to muse on the "Pak Jung Hi's thinking". Even university professors, suppressing their feeling of humiliation, attend this exercise. Yet, there are some who refuse to yield. When ordered to enter this training school, a professor turned in his resignation. He did not want to remain in the professorship toop-

after finishing the training course, the alumni should regularly meet and admonish one another against clouding their minds cleansed by the brainwashing.

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ing to such meanness. His colleagues talked him into changing the resignation for an application for temporary rest. The friend who told me about this added: "It is nevertheless gratifying that we still have people like that." He said this because the intellectuals who had been critical before were now brought round to identify themselves with the present regime. For one thing, a Doctor of Philosophy back from the United States has accepted the post of a judgment officer of the KCIA to label people as Reds.

Right after the announcement of Emergency Decree No. 9 a demonstration took place at Seoul University. This came as a great shock to the ruling circles. The surveillance of the KCIA alone is insufficient. The police nearby should bear greater responsibility. So, recently the police is more watchful. It is said that nearly 500 students from several universities have been arrested. Nevertheless, these days no newspaper gives a report even when people are arrested or murdered. When handling the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students case, the Pak regime put public opinion in a ferment by handing down the death penalty and 20 years in prison. But now it will no longer act the fool as at that time. It crushes resistance noiselessly, on the quiet.

By now many Catholic priests have been taken into custody. They are those who fought in the name of the National Christian Ministers Corps for the Realization of Social Justice. But no one knows the fact. Some priests have been deported under the name of going abroad for study. And a rumour is flying about that a second NFDYS case involving these priests is

now being trumped up. Among the SU students who staged a demonstration there was one whose elder brother is in the north. A great incident centring around this student is being faked up, they say. Among the victims there seem to be students and graduates who are not yet arrested. The authorities concerned are probably thinking it is as yet premature to make public the "inside" of this major framed-up incident, which is their own brain child. It is essential to seize the opportunity to make it public, as in the case of launching a counterattack against the enemy. And there must be a discussion about the scope of fabrication—whether even the Catholic priests should be involved, and so on.

What a good thing it is for the Pak regime that there is no newspaper which tells the truth! And how lucky it is that a long silence has fallen upon both the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches as if they had lost their leaders. Although hundreds of youths are languishing in jail, the fact remains unknown and so public opinion at home and abroad is quiet, so it seems.

In such circumstances the menace against the life of Mr. Kim Ji Ha the poet may possibly increase. Locked up in a solitary cell and not a single book allowed, he is going near to insanity, it is said. The confession cooked up by the KCIA that he is a communist has been negated by the poet himself in a secret message he has sent out from jail, they say. Protestant church leaders were taken off into custody, and during their absence the church has been torn asunder. Meanwhile, the anti-communist and national

unity groups are multiplying their forces with the backing of the government. But they cannot indefinitely keep from the eyes of the world public the fact that the church leaders are in prison. That is why they put on a smile as if to bestow leniency immediately, just as "a hypocrite makes others ill and then administers them medicine". But one must think of the case with Hayakawa and Tachikawa. They said there was nothing serious about these two Japanese while forming a shocking conspiracy against them behind the scene. If they think the charges are not heavy enough, they may frame up something more to add to them. Although we have witnessed the fate of the innocent eight People's Revolutionary Party members, we still seem to cherish an illusion to expect some generosity from the Pak regime. If ever they fall back, it is not prompted by any good-will on their part. This can happen only when pressure is brought to bear on them and they feel misgivings about their self-preservation and safety.

It is quite probable that ever greater sufferings are in store for the Protestant leaders who are now in prison. Their charge is that they have used the funds of missionary work for purposes other than originally defined. For some reason, a yellow ribbon is worn on their prison uniforms. This is a mark for a dangerous person, a political offender. Everyone is dubious as to why the "misuse" of funds for missionary work should be regarded as a dangerous political offence. But it appears in fact that they are all out to fabricate a new charge against their victims. The treasurer has gone into hiding and only his wife is at home. It is

said that the house is infested by KCIA agents all the time. They are spreading a rumour that some kind of important documents will be found out. When a prayer meeting was held for these leaders, a few passages were quoted from a book authored by one of them. From that day the KCIA is said to be up to the neck in the study of the book to find out some new clue.

The trial of Mr. Kim Dae Jung on charges of election law violations is still going on. Do they probably want to torment him endlessly while taking elaborate precautions not to provoke an explosive excitement of public opinion? Is it not their intention, with Mr. Kim Ji Ha too, to pain and exhaust him while pretending to be trying to do fair justice to him? It comes to my mind that the political offenders in South Vietnam went mad or their legs were paralyzed. It seems that a "South Vietnam situation" is now under way in this land of south Korea, without newspapers making any comment or public opinion launching an attack.

Events similar to the South Vietnamese process of defeat are now taking place amidst the outcry for anti-communist unity. Numerous students have been expelled, and they seem to have little chance of returning to the campuses. Driven to despair, the dissenters will become ever more radical. They have no way out. Like the eight PRP men, they may be drawn into a big swindling drama and murdered at any time. The underground forces will grow. The more desperate they become, the nearer the denouement will come just as it did in South Vietnam. The Pak regime is imprecating such a situation upon itself. Probably, the present situation in south Korea may as yet appear

different from that of South Vietnam yesterday. But if the Pak regime becomes more despotic, south Korea will tread the same path as South Vietnam, won't it? If many honest-minded people in the south fail to see a new possibility other than the Pak regime, this tragedy will go beyond remedy.

Young people who ought to work for the country are in prison. The people are denied the information to acquaint themselves with the realities but they are mobilized to shout stupid slogans. They are now seeking refuge in self-deceptive peace.

July 1, 1975

BOGUS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Every month, around the 15th day, an anti-air-raid exercise is conducted. Usually a morning hour was designated for it before, but these days the signal is sounded at any moment. Everyone should dash out of the house and hide himself somewhere, leaving the door of his home wide-open. One foreigner muttered that perhaps the Pak regime wanted to utilize the opportunity to search houses. In fact, life in south Korea is becoming increasingly harder even to foreigners. Take photographs casually, and not infrequently your films will be confiscated. The list of places to be visited by foreign tourists includes the anti-communist exhibition ground. There the guests from faraway lands are instilled with fear of the north, and they are

required to express their approval for the strengthening of the *"proper anti-communist buildup"* of the south.

South Korea has the *tong* (group) and *ban* (unit) organization which can be regarded as a remnant of the Tonarigumi (neighbourhood association) practised in the days of Japanese rule. This organization has so far existed only in name. But recently, with the strengthening of the "war structure", it is being vitalized into a more thoroughly organized setup. This is a new version of the five-person collective responsibility unit. Through this every home is watched. If anyone wants to travel, this should be reported to the authorities. Responsibility should be borne collectively. Presumably, such control is aimed at preventing the growth of the underground movement. Some are of opinion that it is also due to the growing possibility of mass resistance caused by the worsening economic situation. It is probable, first of all, that this step is taken to cow the people. In such conditions what course will the underground movement follow? When the slum quarters were pulled down, one of the purposes was to eliminate the hiding places of the underground operators. Once a man is arrested, he is put to no-sleep torture for days on end. This is said to be the most effective method, which is applied the first thing.

For all this, resistance continues in changed forms. The newly-appointed acting president took office at the Hanguk Theological Seminary. The students were asked to welcome the deputy president with hand clapping, when a strange thing happened. A new professor would be greeted with a quick, regular clapping

of hands: clap, clap, clap. But the deputy president was received with a slow, long-interspaced clapping not without a touch of mockery: cla-ap—cla-ap—cla-ap.

In Chonju of North Cholla Province a Catholic priest goes on with his piquant sermon even now. Nevertheless, he is not arrested. The Pak regime had a hard time of it with the Catholics when they apprehended Bishop Chi Hak Sun while dealing with the NFDYS incident, and so, it is rumoured, the government is using prudence with the Catholic church. And in Chonju, two pastors were jailed for their "undesirable" sermons. Five other pastors protested. The police made one of the five pastors write a pledge, with the condition that the two would be released. Now one of the two released pastors was indignant about the written pledge, and gave another strong-worded sermon to be put behind bars again.

Resistance continues. In June the Student National Defence Corps was formed at every college and university to turn them into army barracks. During the inaugural ceremony of the Corps at a certain university an unusual scene was enacted. When the president and professors addressed them, the students stood erect and listened to them with respect. However, when a high-ranking official from the Ministry of Education began to speak, they suddenly sat down plump on the ground and started talking noisily. This tactics originated, in fact, in the graduation ceremony of Seoul University this spring. No sooner had Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil started reading the congratulatory message from the "President" than the

graduating students hooted him with the inarticulate "wow" for as long as five minutes. No one could tell who had started it.

All the professors were obligatorily to attend the inaugural ceremony of the Student National Defence Corps. But fact was that few of them were present. This was a mute resistance, we should say. Even if the Pak regime forced the people to oppose communism, their resistance could never be stopped. When the people recover from their intense fear of the north and cool down, resistance will become ever more vigorous. As the people sometimes offer resistance in different forms, the Pak regime's hysterics aggravate further, it seems.

The louder the Pak regime becomes in its anti-communist outcry, the more uneasy the popular masses in south Korea become. Some intellectuals mournfully ask themselves: "Should we live amidst the rumours of war for years from now?" The Pak regime has no intention of quitting the scene or mending its evil ways. Under Pak's rule the south goes deeper into the morass of corruption. The US troops should withdraw sometime or other. This is a drift of history.

The Pak regime is on the eve of fall. Is there any hope that the fall of this regime will not imply the fall of the south itself as in the case of South Vietnam? Is the Pak government taking steps to preclude this possibility from now? We should prepare the forces, even underground, that will be capable of showing us the creed and practical way to cope with the situation when the Pak regime crumbles.

The country's only natural shell-fish habitat near

Inchon which faces the Yellow Sea, is now going to be filled in. It is the life line of over 1,200 families comprising 6,000 members. The government, however, has given permission to the Hyondae Corporation to fill up the tideland beach. There will be no more fishing ground, nor bathing resort, nor beautiful scenery. The corporation is threatening the fishermen by making it known that if they make a row, the compensation money will be cut. Last year alone, the shell-fish producing zone exported a million dollars' worth of shell-fish. Moreover, 100 million *won* has been invested in shell-fish culture there, from ignorance of the reclamation plan. This shell-fish producing ground with a history of 150 years is now going to disappear. Are they planning to build a factory of a pollution industry? If so, which country's capital is coming? The threatening voice is loud while the fishermen's moans are scarcely audible.

Without any provocation students on the black list are arrested, jailed, and expelled. A Rihwa Women's University student who had been the head of a students' circle was taken into custody several weeks ago, and she has not since been heard of. Another batch of girl students have been arrested for their support of the journalists expelled from the *Tonga Ilbo.* It is reportedly planned to crush the Student Christian Federation as a whole. If its committee meets even on a small scale, all who have attended it are arrested. If one says, "Preach the gospel to the poor," he will be given a warning that he is becoming a spontaneous communist without being inspired by the north.

It has been preached that the slums are a communist hotbed. First of all, people who worked at the slum quarters were regarded as a menace to the government. So, as a means of wiping out their grounds of activities, the slum dwellers were evicted. The churches in the slum quarters were also pulled down. The compensation for each house was 50,000 *won*. But this was paid only to the owner of the house. The shelterless people are now living in the open air, without roofs over their heads, leaning against the walls of the demolished houses. They were given two weeks' notice of the eviction, and so, naturally, they do not know what to do. A pastor appealed to the church against this, and he was arrested on charges of violating Emergency Decree No. 9.

The salaries of the national public service personnel were raised by 20 per cent so as to win their loyalty to the government. This was a happy-go-lucky step prompted by a political consideration In fact, this entailed a decision to levy defence tax to secure a 20 per cent increase in the tax revenues. It is said that it is applicable retroactively to January 1. The inside story of the matter has been whispered into my ear by a government official. The decision was calculated to minimize the discontent of the people by excusing that the step was taken for national security's sake. Thus, the people have to undergo greater sufferings for the Pak regime to remain in power. The words of one friend are still echoing in my ears. He said:

"They think they cannot rule short of trampling underfoot everyone of the people. Such things as

telephone wire tapping have now become their customary practice. This is a common knowledge. Christians have tied towels round their heads for reasons of holding service at an anti-communist rally. Where on earth did they learn this from? Probably they have become crazy. From fear of the Pak regime the people have gone out of their minds. This is an absence of the state, an absence of the people."

Uttered out of despair, these words may sound exaggerated. In fact, everything has a tinge of madness. An emergency service decree has been announced on the allegation that we are in a state of war, and even the ministers of the government go on night-watch duty. Two out of every ten officials should guard their work places at night and on holiday. "After all, the aim is to harass us out of our wits, that's what it is," lamented one official.

Preposterous laws are passed through the National Assembly by bribing or blackmailing the opposition members of the Assembly. No one can say "No." At last, on June 24, the opposition New Democratic Party submitted to the Steering Committee of the National Assembly a resolution of nonconfidence in its speaker and vice-speaker. Further, it said that the speakers were a "group of swindlers" and a "group of conspirators", and that the National Assembly was a "bogus National Assembly". But this kind of resolution could under no circumstances be tolerated. When the government party decides to shelve it, no opposition Assemblyman dare challenge it. When it was told to withdraw the resolution, the New Democratic Party barely said, "For honour's sake we cannot with-

draw it." This was all the "resistance" it could offer. It will be correct to call it a "mad National Assembly" rather than a "bogus National Assembly". Perhaps, the whole of this country in the grip of a madman has turned into a "mad state".

Even in these circumstances some appear to have preserved their consciences unsoiled. A newspaper carried a denouncing article éntitled, "The Dying River Han-gang". The large river Han-gang runs its course through the city of Seoul. When viewed from the air, the stream consists of two currents. One current which holds about a third of the river's width, is dark and distinct from the rest, and has a length of three kilometres. This is where the 6.5 million citizens of Seoul draw their water supply, and its water is also used for farming and industrial purposes. In the summer this current with its stench forbids people to approach it. It is feared that diseases might be caused by the pollution.

A few days ago, one friend, speaking from hearsay about the health of Pak Jung Hi, told me, "His liver sclerosis is getting worse." He did not forget to add that this was probably an expression of the people's wish for the dictator's death. It may be the KCIA that is diffusing the information. He went on further to say:

"According to information tipped off by his close attendants, Pak Jung Hi looks very unwell. And those in power are taking every possible measure to continue to hold the reins of government when Pak quits the scene. They intend to fix all bad image on Pak when he dies and then to continue to rule by taking advantage of the evil laws which they have recently induced him to institute. They reckon that given the set-

up, they can remain in power by putting up another dictator even if the present dictator is gone."

There is no telling that Pak's death or banishment will immediately bring about the end of the troubled situation. When he dies, the people will heave a sigh of relief. But if power is to be taken back and restored to the people, the masses should be strong enough and their resistance should be organized. In addition, there must be the relevant ideas and action for the purpose. Mentioning the strain of insanity flowing in the blood of the devil-possessed Pak family, the same friend said:

"The Christians have continued to hold Thursday (Mok-yo) prayer meetings. Then, a fortuneteller said Mok (木) of Mok-yo (木曜) is the same with the Mok (木) of Pak (朴), and so this was an evil omen. Moreover, the prayer meetings begin at ten o'clock, which, it was claimed, is the hour Pak is ordained to die. So the KCIA requested that the prayer meetings be held on some other day of the week. But the Christians declined. And Pak's daughter is now active on the political stage in place of his late wife. In talks with girl students, she praises Pak by saying that her father takes decisions in disregard of opposition from people around. She has even been installed as honourary president of the 'Taehan Missionary Corps for National Salvation,' an organization of those who are running riot like lunatics, and is sending out messages. She is said to have received religious inspiration when she lapsed into ecstasy as if possessed by God. After she had lost her mother, her marriage talks broke off several times, and she reportedly said she wanted to become a nun. This gave a great deal of headache to

Pak. Then, now we are told that in the ecstasy she received a divine revelation glorifying the politics of anti-communist dictatorship. This is utilized to draw over the naive Christians. Now the singing of hymns is heard without letup from the Blue House, the presidential mansion, they say. As you see, everything has a tinge of madness."

The silence of the masses continues endlessly. Although the Pak regime itself coerced the masses into silence, this silence makes it all the more uneasy. So, government-sponsored anti-communist rallies and the like are held. But this does not dissipate their misgivings. Even though the government oppresses the people with countless evil laws enacted recklessly, the rulers fail to enjoy peace of mind. Pak's outrageous oppression of the people escalate endlessly, but this does not bring him the assurance that the people have been pinned down. They, too, are aware that the people's silence is in fact a sharp criticism against the depraved dictator.

July 1, 1975

PEOPLE WHO ARE STILL ALIVE

In his poem dedicated to the memory of the late Kim Sang Jin who resisted the Pak regime by killing himself, the poet Ko Un wrote, "We are smoking cigarettes whose price has risen after your death. Late Kim Sang Jin, this is your sigh and lamentation. For-

Under the name of "wartime legislation" evil laws are produced one after another. The most evil of all these evil laws is perhaps the "Social Security Law". Under this law, when one is notified that he has now been placed on the list of those subjected to protection and surveillance, he must immediately report to the authorities concerned about his income, property, family, friends, religious belief, occupation, etc. His place of residence will be restricted, and he will be placed under surveillance. And those subjected to supervision and protection for security purposes will be "put in the Security Supervision and Protection Station to be educated and protected" (Article 9). Pending the establishment of this station, the prison will do duty for it. Now the Pak regime can arrest and jail anyone for an indefinite period under the name of brainwashing operation, bypassing "troublesome" formalities such as trials. The first condition for an inmate to extricate himself from such a fate is to take a vow that he will "develop an anti-communist spirit to render most devoted service to the nation and to abide by the law". In addition, more than two persons should prove his identity and many officials should vouch for his conversion and bear responsibility for his behaviours.

It is said that by the law thousands of people will be put in such a position. This country is likely to turn into a huge political jail. Now anti-government or resistance to the dictatorship cannot but become an underground movement. A rumour is floating round that students of Seoul University have made several attempts at uprising. There has reportedly been a de-

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July 1, 1975

PEOPLE WHO ARE STILL ALIVE

In his poem dedicated to the memory of the late Kim Sang Jin who resisted the Pak regime by killing himself, the poet Ko Un wrote, "We are smoking cigarettes whose price has risen after your death. Late Kim Sang Jin, this is your sigh and lamentation. For-

give us." It is likely that these words symbolize most aptly the present state of the south Korean intellectuals. Let me quote a few lines from the poem which appeared in mimeograph form.

We, the survivors, should search
For freedom which comes as a crime
To ourselves, to Heaven,
And even to the wicked;
For every man's truth
That is like flowers on the beautiful
riverside of this land,
So your young sky said.

People will ask,
"Why is it you were born in this land
And left it with a curse?"
All falsehood and degradation will say,
"His death is futile."
All foes will utter,
"Kill even his death."

You said your life was of little importance.
But if freedom and justice are precious,
Your life is ever more precious.
Because you believed in the worth
of your life
You offered it on the alter of your
country's truthful life.
We know your humbleness and your behavior.

Many people are shut off from information. Even the

intellectuals are in the dark as to the events abroad and the domestic happenings not reported by the press. We could say that their defeatist feeling is causing their allergic reaction to the real development. The testimony of Mr. Li Jae Hyon, the former Information Service Chief of the ROK embassy in the United States, given before the US Congress, has recently been revealed to some people, though not many, and we were pleased to exchange our views on it. Li testified that the ROK government corrupts statesmen of other countries with money and women. He had received orders to accuse as Reds those who had broken away from the Information Service and criticized the Pak regime. He had also been instructed to blackmail those American businessmen who had interests in south Korea to apply pressure to their government and Congress. The organization of symposiums on the Korean question, invitation of scholars, and so on are also what the KCIA is doing through the medium of ROK diplomatic and consular offices in foreign countries. We are glad that many such facts have been known to our friends abroad. While they were manoeuvring like this towards the United States, what policy they pursued towards Japan? What was their attitude towards her with regard to the Kim Dae Jung incident? Is it impossible to hear the words of honest officials?

It is said that the manoeuvres against putting ads. in the *Tongu Ilbo* will gradually come to an end The newspaper is totally placed under the control of the KCIA, they say. Its president tried dramatically to make a compromise with the democratic journalists outside the newspaper, but his plan was frustrated by the

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KCIA just before realisation. Mr. Kim who was a reporter for the culture section of the *Tonga Ilbo* and chairman of the National Reporters Association, was taken up by the KCIA and put to severe torture for four or five days. Then he returned to his native place, and no one knows what has become of him after that.

The journalists remaining outside are reportedly divided. The leading figures insist on an uncompromising struggle, but some are opposed to them advocating the inevitability of returning to the company. The management of the company seems to demand that those who want to come back to their former positions should write a pledge. The Committee for Struggle in Defence of Tonga's Press Freedom declared this was tantamount to demanding humiliating submission including a promise not to form trade unions. Only the reporters who have been suspended indefinitely are allowed to come back. If one submits and returns to the company, it is believed, he will be divested of his capacity as reporter, and assigned to the printing office or sent out on local service. So the Committee is calling for a "reasonable solution" through a sincere dialogue. Meantime, it appears it has decided to take legal proceedings, with the help of the Seoul Association of Lawyers, for the "nullification of dismissal and indefinite suspension". Commenting on such problems, one senior journalist said:

"Addressing a lecture meeting recently, on the World's Publicity Service Day, which was attended by fighting journalists too, the former chief editor Mr. Song Gon Ho spoke about mass communication in south Korea. He said that the owners of press enterprises are

more interested in the government's 'special favour' than getting the reporters to publish good newspapers.

"The clashing of such physical character of the mass communication with the journalists' idealism serves as a serious warning to south Korea's mass communication itself. The freedom the press is fighting for should not be the freedom of depravity, but should be the freedom of doing what should be done. In the developing countries, Mr. Song said, freedom often means the freedom of depravity which has nothing to do with aspiration for value. The clash between the press entrepreneurs' freedom of depravity and the journalists' idealistic freedom is a struggle that will continue even after the collapse of the Pak regime, and this struggle has only just begun. That is why the proprietors of the enterprises are at pains to defend their property and power with the backing of the KCIA."

About a month ago these poor reporters held a bazaar. The business was done with dispatch by guerrilla tactics. It was held in a room of the Young Women's Christian Association building. The room had been booked on the pretext of holding some kind of meeting. Because of this the responsible persons of the YWCA were taken off to the KCIA. Among the items offered for sale at the bazaar were a picture of a poet and a handwriting by brush, "Justice", by former President Yun Bo Son, it is said. Support pennants were also sold, each for 500 *won*. They signified an appeal for support for their struggle and livelihood. Now, however, under the KCIA's harsh oppression they will never again be able to use such guerrilla tactics.

Under the name of "wartime legislation" evil laws are produced one after another. The most evil of all these evil laws is perhaps the "Social Security Law". Under this law, when one is notified that he has now been placed on the list of those subjected to protection and surveillance, he must immediately report to the authorities concerned about his income, property, family, friends, religious belief, occupation, etc. His place of residence will be restricted, and he will be placed under surveillance. And those subjected to supervision and protection for security purposes will be "put in the Security Supervision and Protection Station to be educated and protected" (Article 9). Pending the establishment of this station, the prison will do duty for it. Now the Pak regime can arrest and jail anyone for an indefinite period under the name of brainwashing operation, bypassing "troublesome" formalities such as trials. The first condition for an inmate to extricate himself from such a fate is to take a vow that he will "develop an anti-communist spirit to render most devoted service to the nation and to abide by the law". In addition, more than two persons should prove his identity and many officials should vouch for his conversion and bear responsibility for his behaviours.

It is said that by the law thousands of people will be put in such a position. This country is likely to turn into a huge political jail. Now anti-government or resistance to the dictatorship cannot but become an underground movement. A rumour is floating round that students of Seoul University have made several attempts at uprising. There has reportedly been a de-

monstration, which has been kept secret from nearly all people, to say nothing of the newspapers. More than 300 students have been arrested and over 80 expelled from the campus. Many students are at large because they have gone into hiding. Among these are youths who have been operating underground since around 1971. A combined demonstration of Catholic priests and Koryo University students was planned, but it looks like it has "missed fire". It is given out that the student Christian organization is a spontaneous communist organization. Pressure is brought to bear upon the parents to induce their sons and daughters to secede from it. Common students keep away from it for fear. When a protest is lodged, a vague answer is given that it is an organization of spontaneous communists. The 100th day commemoration of reporters expulsion from the *Tonga Ilbo* produced victims. Three reporters were apprehended. Young women including Rihwa Women's University students who supported it were also arrested. Probably these women are suffering tortures for reasons of violating Emergency Decree No. 9.

Honest people who are critical of the government are all branded as Reds. The number of students expelled from the campus even before the recent demonstration of SU students was nearly 500. They are *all destined for the political prison or* will be barred from moving about freely because their place of residence is restricted. If they want to carry on any kind of activity, they are compelled to go underground. I have some information about their underground activities, but here I would rather keep silence. No

ter how closely the authorities may tighten up their social control, loyalty to the Pak regime is hard to find among the government officials. When they receive orders, they pretend to carry them out, if only for the time, for fear of being fired.

So, under this decadent system of bureaucracy, the underground movement will eventually find room for activity and steer forward. The Pak regime itself is now turning out such conscientious people who will work with a new, heroic resolve. What role is this going to play in the history of south Korea? I am inclined to believe that a situation is being created which is never to be fooled. I feel a noble pride in the indomitable spirit of this nation. I earnestly pray that our overseas compatriots may continue to give encouragement by their vigorous support campaigns.

South Korea's mass communication will keep silence. Most of the intellectuals may probably betray their servility indulging in a defeatist mood. The masses will also become mute, feigning indifference. There has been set up in south Korea a vise-like system bolstered up by unheard-of evil laws which, regarding the entire people as enemies or criminals, places them under surveillance, but the public opinion abroad may continue to keep silence about their fate, probably because of preoccupation with their own cares. Nevertheless, this will not signify the stoppage of the history of the Korean nation in the true sense of the word. There is an indication, though still negligible, that a new history of liberation is in the making.

July 17, 1975

SAD LIBERATION

RESIGNATION

The greatest success won by the Pak regime through despotic repression after the defeat in South Vietnam is that they drove the south Korean people into resignation. The people's great hope for the restoration of democracy gave way to despair. People devoid of ideals will spiritually decay. The instinct for self-preservation is at work in the frantic anti-communist clamours.

The people are not surprised no matter what outrageous and wicked laws are announced This comes from their resignation that the Pak regime cannot be expected to do anything better. Policemen have been sacked because they got rake-offs regularly from the pickpockets. They number as many as 103. Nevertheless, the people do not say a word. This is not the first time the cops did such things, they think to themselves. There have been cases of dismissal more than once, haven't there?

In fact, those cops are sneak thieves. They are no more than the moss growing under a b.g toadstool. The toadstool remains intact as ever. And this is the

rule in society.

It has been reported that the "United Steel" evaded 2,000 million *won* of tax. It is also said that four million dollars of foreign currency has been smuggled out of the country. The boss of the business even has a de luxe villa in Japan. But this news, too, fails to stir the south Korean people. Is it not the way common to all those in a position of power? Only the "United Steel" was somehow in bad luck, that is what it is. It has probably made a bungle rubbing against the grain of the Blue House. But if it manoeuvres tactfully, everything will pass off quietly, perhaps. In any case there is no instance that such things have ever brought 15 or 20 years in prison to the fellows involved. In a few months they will come back as bigwigs of the business world and strut about the streets of Seoul in a lordly manner.

The people are simply resigned. The only trouble now is that prices are high. To those who are more or less decently off, the heat wave that is sweeping across the whole country is the only care. The temperature rises as high as 30 to 35 degrees C. every day. And Kyongsang Provinces have been visited by great floods. It was so hot yesterday, Sunday, that 2.8 million people rushed to the seasides and swimming-pools throughout the country, and it is said that 47 were drowned in a single day. In such a confusion, the lives of men or human rights are totally out of the question. This kind of tragedies occur almost every weekend under the broiling sun of the summer, people are all shut up callously in their resignation.

As a consequence of the demonstration incident at

Seoul University alone, at least 300 persons are in prison now suffering from this terrible heat. But the people pretend indifference to them, too. What a good thing this resignation of the people is to those in power! In such circumstances Pak Jung Hi declares that he will build up self-reliant defence power within five years. Before he used to say at every opportunity that the north was going to launch a general offensive on the south, but these days he has slightly changed his wording and says that the north is planning to wage a "short lightning war". At any rate he assures us that within five years the "democratic Korea" can be defended without the US troops. So it appears the United States should be grateful for this great "ability of leadership" and pin hopes on it. As a matter of course, Pak Jung Hi claims that huge aid of Japan and America is needed now for this purpose.

The people think that these words like his other utterances are empty and so are not the least moved by them. They are a repetition of the same words.

With resignation the people persuade themselves that it is always Pak Jung Hi's way to say such things and that society always proceeds along the path of degradation like this.

The same is true of the international scene. The UN meetings will also harp on the same string. The report about the ROK's application for UN membership was also a piece of such burlesque which produced no reaction at all. When it is rejected, the people consider that it is exactly the way the UN is expected to do, and that the outcome cannot be otherwise. They think it a dry topic boresome in this sweltering weather. The

shouting of the Pak regime on the north is also the same thing. Probably, the Pak regime's politics amounts to the repetition of nonsense as such.

In view of this state of affairs, it can be said that Japanese Foreign Minister Miyazawa who visited south Korea on last July 23 to readjust the ROK-Japan relations on a new basis, formed a very correct judgment in timing his visit. In such a sultry weather no one will choose to work himself up into excitement. In this respect the people of south Korea were cool. However much the verbal notes exchanged between the two governments may be of a nature of political bargaining, the fact scarcely surprises people. It was widely known that Kim Dong Un and his wirepuller, the KCIA, and their highest boss would never show themselves in the public eye. Because this could affect the fate of Pak Jung Hi himself.

It was rather more because the people were totally resigned to the idea that Japan was always like that, and that the ROK-Japan relations were shaped through intrigues now as ever. Here, needless to say, the press of south Korea played a part; it had no alternative but to parrot the ROK government and Foreign Minister Miyazawa who called it a "starting point of new friendship". In this unbearable heat and amidst the people's resignation and silence the factors detrimental to the ROK-Japan relations were "removed", they say. Moreover, Foreign Minister Kim could declare nonchalantly, "We are against a 'humiliating diplomacy'." No one even has the pep to challenge: "You have subordinated the national economy root and branch to Japan and are even now begging for 'loans', and yet do you

mean to say this isn't a 'humiliating diplomacy' if only you could hush up the international intrigue such as the Kim Dae Jung incident?"

Because of the internal and international resignation and despair in relation to the Pak regime, this regime may possibly keep going for some time. But the outcome is as clear as day. I think that no matter what may take place between the ROK and Japan, the people of south Korea will only look on with resignation. As long as the "anti-Japanese" campaign launched by the Pak regime with the tacit approval or support of the pro-ROK forces in Japan is not genuine, there will be no anti-Japanese movement under this regime. So now, it is to be hoped, Foreign Minister Miyazawa will feel reassured that Japan can steadily proceed with her policy towards south Korea without any worry. But I cannot but be sorry that there are people as yet who are grieved at the people's resignation which gladdens the ROK and Japanese governments. One young man has written to me:

"Though outside of prison, I am restrained by law. Many friends are captivated by a feeling of frustration. I think the role of most of the organizations on the surface has already come to an end. It is painful to see many people discard idealism and slide into the slough of the reality. They say they cannot anticipate any significant change in the near future. Malady is serious everywhere. The prospects of south Korea, as well as mine, are gloomy. There is no hope for the future. But in whatever circumstances, no matter what difficulties I may encounter, I will not give up my ideals. Because without them I can hardly see a mean-

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g in life. It is a fact, however, that the long rou
arkness and chaos ahead makes my eyes swim in my
ead. I am prepared to live poor all my life. I will never
etreat even a step in the face of the hardships; I will
lash myself on to test the worth of my life."

This fine young man was once imprisoned for his part in the democratization movement. Although he comes from a wealthy family, he has chosen to live a life of tribulation. He is determined to go on working in the cause of the minority uniting voices with them, ready to throw his body against the rock to be dashed to pieces. I am deeply moved with compassion for him.

In his letter he told me about the recent circumstances of many comrades. Subjected to surveillance under the Social Security Law, they have to report to the police what they are doing. But most of them do not report; they are desperate and behaving on the spur of the moment without caring about the consequences.

They are shut out from work and have no freedom of movement. Their right to live is menaced. One yout decided to become a street vender selling fries ar made a stall mounted on a man-pulled cart. But could not do business properly, the KCIA stood in way. They were probably going to make him wi away to death.

The Protestant-sponsored Human Rights Comm is trying to extend a helping hand to these suf youths. This committee is enjoying confidence. propose to teach them technical skills. But their is to return to normal life at the universities

society. It is hoped that a struggle is waged to realize their desire.

The number of the expelled continues to increase. What are they to do? Expelled Christian professors have opened a church. This is also a manifestation of their desperate struggle for any kind of assignments or activities. It is essential before anything else to overcome their own feeling of frustration. How long this Galilee Church will continue to exist no one can tell. The meeting of this church held in the Taesong Building located in the central part of Seoul always proceeds under the watching eyes of the policemen. Although it is a gathering of a small number of people, KCIA agents take the trouble of attending every service of this church.

Here is another story. The KCIA secretly proposed to the resistant youths to send them to Japan on condition that they agreed to spy on the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan. The youths formed a correct judgement on the proposal. They said:

"They offer us such a dirty job because they have an ulterior motive. Their aim lies not in spying, but in getting us to do that kind of thing only to cook up an incident later with the charge that we are spies for the north. There are many cases that they used people as their agents, whom they later accused falsely of espionage. That's their old trick."

August 4, 1975

AUGUST 15

The celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the August 15 liberation were colourful. In particular, the function dedicated to the memory of the late Mme. Ryuk who died in the "August 15 tragedy" last year was more pompous than the 30th anniversary commemoration of the "August 15" itself. Instructions were given to almost all offices and establishments to hold memorial services. All newspapers gave large space to tributes paid to the memory of the deceased and to the memorial function. So, the 30th anniversary of the liberation appeared to have been thrown into the shade. Masses were held both in Buddhist temples and Catholic churches. And it is said that there were lines of citizens who came to pay "homage" at the grave of the late Mme. Ryuk in the National Army cemetery.

Another feature of this year's August 15 was the message of Shiina, vice-president of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, addressed to the south Korean people. As the Foreign Minister at the time of the ROK-Japan talks, he got a name by saying that Japan's rule of Korea in the past had been "glorious imperialism". Therefore, his message should be meaningful. And in view of the fact that after the tragic death of Mme. Ryuk last year he visited south Korea as an apologizing envoy, his message attracted attention.

The newspapers presented him as "the real power

in the Liberal Democratic Party". Commemorating the 30th anniversary of the August 15 liberation, all newspapers had to frontpage his message ostentatiously. What does this mean at all? What is the real power in the Liberal Democratic Party, that is, the power of Japan, driving at in south Korea now? What is it scheming with the Pak regime, surrounded by the bitter silence of the south Korean people? The backing of such power in Japan is responsible for the Pak regime unhesitatingly committing such acts as kidnapping Mr. Kim Dae Jung from a big hotel in the capital city of Japan in open daylight and then shamelessly stating, "I have nothing to do with the incident," and also for its telling a lie that it does not go in for a "humiliating diplomacy". Our humiliations have reached its height now.

During the ROK-Japan talks the critical intellectuals who sided with the people sharply criticized Japan's neo-colonialism. They expressed their concern that the economic invasion and economic subjugation would inevitably bring about political subjugation in their wake. How is it that a man of power in the ruling circles of Japan can openly interfere in the internal affairs of another country like this? No man of power from ruling quarters of a country other than Japan would make such outrageous interference. Many people in south Korea are crying over the lost democracy and human rights. Is it that without supporting the man in power here like this the "security" of Japan cannot be defended? If the Japanese security is so fragile as to need the tyranny of the Pak regime for support, then this security cannot be defended after

all, can it? Wise Dietmen of Japan answer the question. We call upon the honest-minded intellectuals of Japan to share our concern.

As vice-president Shiina said, the "30th liberation anniversary in south Korea" this year was surely a "day that marks a new milestone in its history". But it was the day of anti-liberation, the day of sad liberation, a day of tragedy that passed under the anti-national dictatorship, a day that dispelled the excitement of August 15. Is the man of power of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan unable to see this? Is he deaf to fail to hear the groans of the south Korean people? Isn't it indeed a day born of the "glorious imperialism"?

On the night of August 14 when I read the message I was so indignant I could not bring myself to sleep. What will they say, the innumerable patriots who fought the Japanese imperialists and died on the execution grounds and are now lying under the sod, if they see south Korea of today? The loyal first lieutenant of the Japanese army (Pak Jung Hi) who graduated from the Military Academy of Japan has at last brought our fatherland to this pass, hasn't he? Now what is to be done to put an end to this state of affairs?

Somehow I cannot suppress the presentiment that the hour of bloodshed and ruin is approaching.

Nevertheless, there is a dead silence among the people, who are only immersed in a painful struggle for existence. The intellectuals of south Korea are now not in a position to raise voices of indignation against the message of Mr. Shiina. If I were unable to find a place to write these letters, I should not have the opportunity of putting down these testimonies of history.

Last year, however, there were intellectuals who published their articles in the press lamenting the deplorable situation. In contrast, only one article appeared in a big newspaper this year, which criticized politicians other than Pak Jung Hi, calling them idiotic politicians who "prefer democracy even if this meant starvation to death". This government-inspired professor stresses the need to reflect on the past 30 years when there has been no movement for national discipline to ostracize the "spirit of perfidy, great power worship and self-torture". He writes that such general movement for penitence will open up a new age. Penitence of slaves held in bondage to the plunderer and constant allegiance to the exploiter! How nice and religious these words sound! Now we find ourselves living in such an age that no one but fellows like this man can and will write for newspapers; this is indeed an age when hollow-hearted intellectuals and precisely the "spirit of perfidy, great power worship and self-torture" can only survive.

It is hot, and clouds are slowly moving in the sky.

Perhaps, I am too much exasperated today. Before long cosmos will be in full bloom in every village and on every roadside. And the serene and beautiful blue autumn sky of Korea will stretch endlessly. Independently of politics, this land will breathe just as it did in remote antiquity. The farmers will harvest their crops, and then hold services for their ancestors. The silence of the farmers—let us believe it to be an expression of their pride in not being contaminated with this brutal politics but preserving our nation. Is this not the undercurrent of the history of our nation that

has been ground down for long, long ages? We should not give up hopes for the day when this pride will flower out freely.

August 16, 1975

SOLITARY RESISTANCE

They say that on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the August 15 liberation Mr. Kim Dae Jung, too, made a statement, but it is not known to us. Sometimes I am worried about solitary resistance in a state of despair tending to assume a fantastic nature. Yet, I still would like to believe that given a strong will and penetrating mentality one will rather experience the spiritual enrichment and uplift. The resisting people of south Korea today are facing such a crisis and chance. Resistance is now losing the common nature and becoming individual. Thus, I have a strong feeling of frustration.

Both Thailand and Portugal which have won back a democratic society are reportedly facing difficult problems one after another. In Bangladesh President Rahman is said to have been killed by a bullet. Such mishaps gladden the Pak regime. Because they believe that the south Korean people will come to fear the chaos which can possibly arise after the overthrow of the Pak regime. In fact, the talk about the crisis of the Pak regime has subsided these days. They reckon even

the violent government can be maintained if only they keep the army under their thumb. They skilfully control the army. In addition to the defence tax, they receive donations to the national defence funds under the name of defence contribution. It is talked about that the greater part of the money is spent for unofficially giving preferential treatment to the soldiers and also for bribing them.

Ours is solitary resistance. Under the name of the Civil Defence Corps, the people are organized into "teams of ten men". If a neighbourhood unit has less than ten men of 17 and above, women volunteers will fill up the vacancies, it is said. The organization of this corps will be completed in mid-September.

One friend complained that the people are formented as unbearably as roasted over a slow fire. Offering resistance under this war structure, how can people survive? Is there any other alternative than pretending to be loyal "subjects" while carrying on the underground struggle? People are wont to say. No one can prophesy what history has in store for them. The universities are still regarded as epicentres, centers of new disturbances, so the authorities think they cannot be left unwatched. This summer many students were sent off to the countryside ostensibly for participation in the "New Village" movement.

There are also students who have been taken off on an inspection tour of Taiwan. The idea is to persuade them into believing that the example of Taiwan is the goal of the Pak regime. For all this, no one can stamp out the traditions of the universities of south Korea where anyone who sides with the powers for-

feits his influence among the students and is labelled as a turncoat, a spy.

There is a secret talk among the intellectuals and students that if the present state of affairs cannot be changed by the domestic forces, then it may be more or less helpful to bringing about a change in the developments in the south for the United States and Japan to establish diplomatic relations with the north. The current state of affairs should be broken. The Ford Administration will try to maintain the status quo in its relations with the Pak regime. Probably it wants to do so with an eye to the forthcoming presidential elections. So, the intellectuals and students would like the Congress and the Democratic Party of the United States to bring the problem of the ROK to the fore and call it into question during the election campaign. They are also secretly wondering if it will not be possible for the Congress and the Democratic Party to press the Ford Administration for a dialogue and establishment of diplomatic relations with the north. It is earnestly hoped that the friends abroad will render help. And in this connection we ask them to tell us people at home what to do. Today's south Korea may appear quite tranquil and peaceful. Certain people may be thinking that as a consequence of the anti-communist outcry the "thoughtless" fellows who clamoured for the restoration of democracy have come to repent of their past mistakes. There are many citizens who believe that now the racket has died down. A foreign visitor I chatted with said, "Now the south Korean situation seems stabilized." I had to tell him about the organization of "ten-men teams" and explain that this

was evidence of unrest. Those foreigners who have long been in close association with south Koreans and know something of the current beneath the surface and the feelings of the masses, share my anxiety.

Human beings are apt to lose sight of history. Until only a few months ago the storm of resistance had been raging so tenaciously, but it has come to a stop all at once. How can this ever happen? How can one say that the order of the dictatorship has come to stay? Do we know any such instance? Is it that the tyranny of Pak Jung Hi has suddenly changed into benevolent administration to achieve national unity? And no one knows the whereabouts and lives of the over 300 SU students who were arrested by reason of staging demonstrations.

It was said that Seoul had one division of garrison troops. Now it is rumoured that the troops under the capital garrison command are being increased to four divisions. The scared Pak regime is strengthening the defence not against the north but against the people. To be precise, they are taking this precaution against a coup by the army. This is the same step as was taken by Thieu of South Vietnam, isn't it?

The struggle for the restoration of democracy should perhaps go underground still deeper. But not infrequently it has to come into the open. The question of pollution is one such case. At the port of Ulsan which is the seat of the Ulsan industrial zone the sea gives off such an unbearable stench that freighters cannot discharge their cargoes. Owing to the waste water flowing out of the fertilizer factory and chemical works, the stevedores have headaches and suffer from nausea,

they say. There is no need to say that it is also a solitary struggle attended by danger to protest against such an evil.

To top it all, recently the corporation Japan Chemical Industry manufacturing sodium bichromate, which created a stir even in Japan, has set up a factory in Ulsan to cause a trouble. This factory is reportedly going into operation in mid-April. It is located in the vicinity of the aforesaid fertilizer factory and chemical works. Of course, the management of the factory says it is making an extensive study of the measures against the pollution.

It is said that in Japan a public campaign is afoot against the pollution caused by this Japan Chemical Industry. We would like to ask the Japanese citizens to include in the objectives of their struggle the issue of the same corporation in south Korea. The south Korean newspapers reported that the inhabitants in the surrounding areas said they would start a campaign to oust the corporation if it created pollution. But under the Pak regime their struggle will become a sad, isolated one. Is it impossible to form the solidarity of the citizens of south Korea and Japan to replace the ROK-Japan collusion which is manifested in the eulogy on the Pak regime pronounced by the "man of power in the Liberal Democratic Party" of Japan? International solidarity should be formed by resistance, too, inasmuch as the same is done by power.

And we would like to believe that this alone is the way to bring about new relations between south Korea and Japan and to create a new world. We would

like to believe this is the key to success in our difficult struggle.

August 16, 1975

THE QUIET FRONT

TO LIVE AN HONOURABLE LIFE

In order not to be ashamed of myself,
Not in the least, under the sky,
I worried myself
Even at a breeze softly passing by.

With a heart admiring the stars
I'll love everything that is dying.
This night, too, I pray to the stars,
As a breeze is blowing.

1975

Girl students printed this poem on handkerchiefs from a wood-block. They wanted to sell them and raise relief funds for the comrades injured in the just struggle. This poem expresses the mental sufferings of Korean youths in the 1940's. The young poet Yun Dong Ju who in those years of ordeal sought for a life of

justice, wrote this poem and died in prison in Fukuoka, Japan. Even now it is a desire of the conscientious young people in this country to live an honourable life like the poet. Is history so unchangeable? That is why the university girls added "1975" to the poem.

It is only recently that I chanced to read Mr. Kim Ji Ha's "Declaration of Conscience" and Mr. Kim Dae Jung's August 15 statement: "Let us translate into reality the ideals of the August 15 liberation." Only a few hundred people will have the opportunity of reading such documents through the medium of clandestine publications, because owing to the national isolation policy only one-sided information is available to the people. But their content will be spread from mouth to mouth. One of the journalists expelled from the *Tonga Ilbo* is now in prison; his charge is that he showed to his friend an English article reporting about the four million dollars of political contribution to the Pak regime made by the Gulf Oil. This is allegedly a violation of Emergency Decree No. 9, circulation of a seditious document, and dissemination of a false report. Now a fact is presented as a falsehood and a falsity is passed off as a truth. The inversed judgment of value like this is perhaps an attribute of the "October Revitalization"

Is it not the desire "not to be ashamed of oneself" that underlies both Mr Kim Ji Ha's "Declaration of Conscience" and Mr Kim Dae Jung's "August 15 statement"? Herein lies the common denominator of conscience of our age in south Korea This is the ground on which Yun Dong Ju stood and gazed at the star-spang'ed nocturnal sky His mind was as clear as

crystal. With the same mental attitude Kim-Ji Ha said that his mind was now as serene "as a lake". He asked people "not to regard me with sad eyes", and added, "Soon we will meet again." Nevertheless, his words were laden with so much sadness. Although he has a serene and piercing intellect, he lapses into an endless illusion of hopes. Ordeals claim mental compensation, I should say. It is probably because he has an illusion that he can continue with his struggle in a solitary cell now. The guard in charge of his cell was fired and his mother had to suffer anguish for several days. At present the round-the-clock watch is reportedly strengthened over his cell. Confined in a cell formerly occupied by condemned people involved in the case of the People's Revolutionary Party, Kim Ji Ha is feeling a still greater mental pain.

The voice of the world's conscience supporting Kim Ji Ha is so weak, whereas the brutal force like the Pak regime is so strong. The youths banished from the campuses and the journalists expelled from the news companies are also fighting in the first place against the despair that is closing in on their hearts. It is not exaggerating to say that their only mental support is the thought "not to be ashamed of oneself."

Mr. Kim Dae Jung's words, too, echo this thought very strongly. There is not and cannot be any particular change in his political and economic creed. But the tone of his wording as a whole moved me. Sufferings seem to purify human souls. His statement is run through with the desire to share the sweets and bitters with the people. One friend who was of my opinion in this respect said:

"Not only he is subjected to the round-the-clock watch. His present house is situated in a low, damp place. For his health the house should be sold off and family should move out. However hard the broker may try, he cannot find a buyer. If one buys the house, he will get it in the neck for the reason that he has contributed to the political funds of the opposition party. Kim Dae Jung also had a hard time replacing his car with a smaller one. To live out to the end in such distressing circumstances, it is most essential to have faith in history and fidelity to one's own self."

Kim Ji Ha in prison and Kim Dae Jung outside prison will serve as the symbol of the present realities of south Korea. The threat of imprisonment will be necessary to scare the people. But if too many people are imprisoned, the world's public opinion will be stirred up and the patience of the people will be exhausted. In many cases, therefore, those who think nothing of imprisonment are placed under house arrest. When a meeting is scheduled to take place somewhere, he who is to preside over it and those who are to make speeches are prevented from coming out of the homes That will be enough to frustrate the meeting. In this sense prison is omnipresent in this country.

This device is often applied to the Galilee Church set up by the Christian professors expelled from the universities and theological schools. When the preacher is designated, he is shut up in his house If he tries to come out of the gate, four or five agents of the KCIA who are *karate* experts rush upon him and force him into the house. Sometimes, expelled students who

often attend such gatherings are manhandled in a similar way. As a consequence, the Galilee Church has now become a clandestine church. On Friday the place and time of the gathering are notified secretly. All of a sudden, the members assemble in some church and hold service. He who is on the pulpit is the preacher of the day, and only now the fact becomes known. They use the method of finishing the service in the main before the KCIA agents arrive.

This may be called a guerrilla church. At times, they cannot find a building for the purpose, and so enter a restaurant, where they order meals and hold service before the meals are served.

There was a man who wanted "not to be ashamed of oneself" and, in a sense, whose lot could have been likened to that of Kim Ji Ha in prison and of Kim Dae Jung outside prison. He met a most tragic end. Mr. Chang Jun Ha is his name. He had founded, and lived with, the monthly "Sasanggye", which is even regarded as having played the part of the ignition plug for the April 19 Revolution of 1960. As a theological seminary student in the days of Japanese rule, he was pressed into the army as a student soldier and dragged out to the mainland of China, where he ran away and went to the Provisional Government of Korea then seated in Chungking and became a secretary of Kim Gu.

This man lost his life on the afternoon of last August 17, reportedly in a mountaineering accident. He once called Pak Jung Hi a "bandit captain" and was imprisoned on charges of insulting the President. Another time, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison because he had started a drive for collecting one million signa-

tures to a document demanding the revision of the Constitution. Even the present-day newspapers had to praise him as a man who had lived a life of "self-sacrifice and good deeds".

The question lies not simply in the death of a patriot. The man allegedly fell off a precipice which no one could climb or descend without alpinist ropes. But he had only a small wound behind his ear. What can the explanation be? How is it that his wristwatch was later found on the wrist of the man who had gone with him on the mountain-climbing? Is it not strange that placed neatly by the side of the dead body was his alpinist hat with his glasses in it?

No end of questions arise. The man called Kim who had acted as a guide to Mr. Chang made many contradictory statements. He said now that Mr. Chang had remained behind on the mountain, now that he had gone down first. He also said that he had seen two men clad in khaki. *This man reported the accident not to* the nearby police station but to the army reconnaissance department. It was six hours after the accident had happened that the family was informed of the fact. The KCIA man came and asked the family to sign a pledge never to try to dig into the facts of the case. Only after the family obeyed, the permission for the funeral was issued. Then the family was pressed to hurry up with the burial service. The *Tonga Ilbo* reporter who wrote that the accident was a mystery was taken into custody on charges of violating Emergency Decree No. 9.

Many people sensed that obviously there was some sort of intrigue behind the death of Mr. Chang. Their

intuition seems to have been correct. Of late, the KCIA villains are spreading the story that the body of Mr. Chang was a mass of wounds. I have heard one relation of Mr. Chang said:

"The doctor who examined the corpse said right after, 'Now that he is dead, you had better keep your mouth shut.' The man who had accompanied Mr. Chang on the mountaineering excursion came and spent 24 hours at the home of the dead, and his complexion expressed intense grief, suggestive of something questionable."

To the friends of her late husband who came to express their condolence Mrs. Chang said, "If he isn't dead, he'll be in prison." The hint must have been that death had relieved him of the sufferings of this world. An honourable life in this country means such bitterness. Hundreds of youths came and pitched tents around he house to keep vigils. Mr. Chang had lived in a rented house, he had had none of his own. In accordance with the religious belief of Mrs. Chang, a Catholic funeral was held in a grand style. As many as 2,000 people were gathered, when a scene was enacted. A young man was seized and dragged out. He was severely beaten and taken off to somewhere. Undoubtedly, he must have been a youth lying underground. No one knew who he was. And no one dared interfere in the violence. The farewell mass continued. Indignant but impotent people. Taking advantage of this, speeding motorcars run over people to death. Sad funerals take place one after another. Is this what this country is destined to by history?

Concerning the death of Mr. Chang Jun Ha a new

political rumour is floating about. It is said he met Mr. Kim Dae Jung many times recently. At the time of elections in 1971 alone, Mr. Chang was critical of Mr. Kim. So I tried to remind the friend who told me about the rumour of the erstwhile relations between the two persons. But as if to cut me short, he said:

"Mr. Chang was a rigid person. So, in fact, he had been out with Mr. Kim in the past. But the prevailing situation brought them into close relations. Both of them matured politically, too. Besides, with a view to making some serious move soon, it looks like they not only reached an understanding between themselves, but came to terms with Mr. Yun Bo Son, too."

Then, the friend gave a lengthy explanation. Until now the Pak regime has resorted to the device of cooking up sensational incidents to maintain its power. After the turn of the situation in Vietnam, it made an "anti-communist row" to strengthen its "position". But its grip on the people, which it maintained after the new developments in Vietnam by instilling in them the fear of the north invading the south, reached its limits. So, the government is seeking to break the deadlock by producing a seemingly new "system of nation-wide endeavours" in place of the "October Revitalization". In all probability, this is a step to bring about the simplification of the political parties and to drive a carriage and pair by winning over Mr. Kim Yong Sam of the New Democratic Party and mating him with Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil. The friend wound up by these words:

"Since he met Pak Jung Hi in May, Kim Yong Sam has become more and more cheerful. And this when

one terrible incident takes place after another under Emergency Decree No. 9. The explanation is that during the conversation he was told by Pak Jung Hi: 'I'll guarantee your position as the head of the opposition party for ever. You are the only possible man to whom I can hand over the reins of government. Kim Dae Jung can never be the one to come in for power.' Kim Yong Sam is highly pleased with this. He now thinks that under the present dictatorial system it is no use trying to pin hopes on anything but the good intentions of the dictator himself. This was the course taken by Pak Jung Hi to create his new system. And Mr. Chang Jun Ha, who had got wind of this, tried to offer desperate resistance together with personalities like Mr. Kim Dae Jung."

When the former President Mr. Yun Bo Son received word about the death of Mr. Chang, he said:

"Is that so? At last, what was feared has happened to him, too. They have attempted to kill me three times already. They have even tried to make use of a waiting maid of my childhood. But she refused."

Mr. Kim Dae Jung, too, has been near death several times. And it seems, according to the "Declaration of Conscience", Mr. Kim Ji Ha's distress and the threats against his life are also associated with Mr. Kim Dae Jung. Mr. Chang Jun Ha has been murdered attempting to give a final battle in collaboration with Mr. Kim Dae Jung. I wonder who will be the next victim. A pastor, a friend of the late Mr. Chang, told me with tears in his eyes:

"He had resigned from the Steering Committee of the Unification Party for the sake of more efficient bat-

tle. Because he had been denouncing the NDP as a cat's paw, he thought he would be a drag on the two parties coming to an agreement and presenting a united front, and that's why he resigned. He had not the least trace of selfishness. I had thought I would open my sermon for the current week with these words: 'Last week we buried with the body of Brother Chang Jun Ha the blood-stained part of the history of sufferings borne by our nation in the closing years of Japanese imperialist rule and the noblest part of the history of the struggle for civil rights recorded over the 30 years since the liberation.' But in fact, I did not say so. Because such a beautiful and sad history is actually speeding along its course with great force now, though invisible."

Yes, even in such tragic circumstances I would like to join Yun Dong Ju in chanting:

With a heart admiring the stars
I'll love everything that is dying
This night, too, I pray to the stars,
As a breeze is blowing

It was when the coffin of the deceased was being carried out of the church. Someone suggested to Mr. Ham Sok Hon to give the dead a send-off by crying "Long live" and clapping hands. It was indeed to be the last tribute of love offered by the masses of the people to the man who had striven to live a most honourable life. Mr. Ham took the lead and all present cried "Long live" in loud, tearful voices and clapped their hands for a long time.

September 2, 1975

OUR CAUSE WILL WIN

Yesterday the government announced that the "resident registration card" would be renewed between September 22 and December 20. The aim is reportedly to make sure the "strength of the Civil Defence Corps and other similar organizations" and to hunt up "spies and culprits". In south Korea an inhabitant aged 17 and above should register his fingerprint and always carry with him a "resident registration card" bearing his fingerprint. This card and its number go with every official document related to him. The opinion is dominant that the scheduled renewal of the card is aimed at rounding up the anti-government youths lying underground. These young people constitute such a grave menace to the Pak regime.

Now what will become of them? Their safety is feared for. The number of people subject to the new registration is 20 million, and it is said the police will be present at their registration in order to verify their identities. Needless to say, this renewal of resident registration will force the resistant youths to lie still closer underground. They have no other alternative.

It is an accepted opinion that thanks to the fall of South Vietnam the Pak regime succeeded in winning the support of the governments of the United States and Japan. This supplied the reactionary people with a

pretext for supporting the Pak regime. They do not care a farthing whatever plight this country may find itself in. They will maintain a shady relation with it. Now both the United States and Japan must have recovered from the shock they received from the developments in the Vietnam situation. They will return to the mental state which was responsible for the tragedy of Vietnam. Their attitude was no more than a passing discomfiture totally devoid of self-reflection. One journalist friend made this comment:

"When a situation like the one in Vietnam develops, Japan says: 'What should come has come. We anticipated as much. Now we should search for a new relation.' But the United States will say: 'This is the last thing we expected. We little thought things would come to this. We should examine the whole system of the United States.' But the next day both Japan and the United States forget everything and proceed along the same old track."

The shock from the Vietnam situation appears to have swayed to the right many people both in south Korea and the United States who had so far posed as critiques of the Pak regime An American scholar who had been much in the newspapers with his stiff attitude against Pak Jung Hi, came in high spirits to south Korea and made a speech before Korean professors expressing his view against communism and his support of Pak, to the great surprise of the audience. Few south Koreans believed in his simple heart. They sarcastically say, "He seems to have been taken in at last by the State Department. I wonder how much he has re-

ceived from the Pak regime for the present trip to south Korea. The government gets the loan of dollars like a beggar, and then dissipates them at random like this."

It is not for nothing that south Koreans are so perverse as this. US Congressmen like Fraser are reported to have great concern for the problem of human rights in south Korea. And the US Congress is making an investigation about the Pak regime's bribery to the US government officials and Congressmen. The report seeped out to us that the husband of the secretary of Mrs. Ford committed suicide when his shady relations with a rogue named Pak Dong Son were taken up by newspapers. Speaking of the bribery scandal, one news reporter who is acquainted with a high-ranking official said:

"Pak Jung Hi has his confidential men in all big countries who manipulate the ambassadors. These men do not properly belong to the embassies. They pass themselves off as businessmen. And sometimes, as occasion demands, Pak Jung Hi's personal emissary is dispatched with a big purse of dollars. Through the medium of businessmen and others, he comes into contact with politicians. In such cases, few politicians refuse to take the money offered, they say. In the United States the bribes received from south Korea have now come into question. Nevertheless, the Pak government continues with the same practices without qualms even now. And the allowances for personal risks included, the sums have become even larger."

The reporter reminded me of the fact that when a ban had been placed on bribery, the sums given as

palm oil grew ever larger. In anticipation of the US presidential elections and elections to the Congress next year, they say agents laden with dollars are now leaving for the United States. The Pak regime has a philosophy that it can conquer anything with money, violence and offer of pleasure. It believes that these have done the trick on the home front. It now openly brags that it is confident of government at home. When Pak says government, it implies the extension of his office and his safety. The reporter went on to say:

"Indeed, he feels misgivings about his international position. But he sees the way out in offering money and pleasure. He thinks this is the only alternative. I have heard that he is spending an enormous sum of money to frustrate in the forthcoming elections such Congressmen as Fraser who hit at Pak Jung Hi. It seems campaign contributions are being made to their rivals. This means that while the United States pretends to give aid, it is withdrawing the dollars by various means"

Further, he said the KCIA appeared to be convinced that some Christians of south Korea were responsible for the unfavourable publicity abroad. This sounds somewhat logical. In the United States young and first-returned members of Congress are quite nervous about their electors. So they inevitably take a cautious attitude towards the opinion of the church. Now it is decided that this church of the United States has been influenced by the Christian circles of south Korea that have wide international association. The KCIA seems to have forgotten that they have shocked the world public by meting out death penalty or 20 years in prison to those who merely cried out for the "restora-

tion of democracy". They also seem forgetful of the fact that because they had abducted a presidential candidate from a foreign country in open daylight in an attempt to kill him, charges simmered throughout Japan for months. And has it really slipped their memory that they alarmed many intellectuals of the world by arresting distinguished pastors, Catholic priests, writers and professors?

It is the Pak regime's excesses that have turned the public opinion against it. Perhaps, those in power have a weak memory; they are apt to forget their past setbacks or want to brush them off their minds. But in reality, they are only pretending, in the depths of their hearts they must be chagrined at their bungles. These days they are tyrannizing quietly. But they make noise often when repressing Christianity. The Pak regime is perhaps deeply annoyed by the "criminal nature" of Christianity in south Korea. Still now, they continue to noisily suppress the Christian church.

They try to silence and fissure the church by instilling fear of communism, but groans and voices of resistance keep being heard. The student Christian associations in the universities have been banned. Pastors are taken off and beaten, and when released, they have to be hospitalized. Thus, their sufferings continue. Even their utterances at ecclesiastical conferences are reported and they are interrogated. The church offices are open to KCIA agents and policemen at all times. When service is held, preaching and prayer are performed under close watch and, if deemed necessary, recorded. A leader who is likely to make a critical speech at an ecclesiastical conference is precluded

from attending the conference by force.

Under such circumstances an increasing number of people are inclined to think and argue that they have no choice but to ingratiate themselves with the powers for subsistence. The anti-communist Christian organization sponsored by the government advanced a strange idea that Christianity cannot exist where there is no state power. Perhaps they got it into their heads that Pak Jung Hi himself is state power. A declaration was made at home and abroad that it is a hard fact that the freedom of missionary work is respected in south Korea. And a pastor who was paid an enormous amount of money by the government made a trip round the world to advertise the declaration. This has been detected and become an issue, I have heard.

The religious policy of the Pak regime will become ever more harsh. It is alleged that the north has infiltrated religion, particularly the Christian faith, throughout the world. And the resistance of the Christians in south Korea has been influenced, whether knowingly or unknowingly, by this. The internationally associated Christian establishments have already been touched by the "evil hand", we are asked to believe. Against this offensive of the KCIA can the people or Christians of south Korea ever hold out? A people receiving prejudiced education with no information about the world available, are no doubt in a critical situation. But they are by no means taken in, because of their own painful experience in the realities and the ugly behaviours of those in power who say so. Thus, after all the education the authorities have taken the trouble to give the people is coming to naught.

An epitome of the confrontation between the Pak regime and the Christian church is the four arrests involving the head of the general affairs section of the Korean Christian Church Council and pastors. They were indicted and put in jail for embezzlement; they had used some of the missionary funds sent from Germany to pay the fees of lawyers who undertook the defence of those in prison and the living expenses of the latter's families.

When it became juristically clear that the charge of embezzlement could not hold, it was hastily changed to a breach of trust. And the four persons were sentenced to six to ten months in prison on the charge of aiding the offenders against the Presidential Emergency Decrees.

The prosecution had demanded four to five years' imprisonment.

This trial was significant in many ways. Just before the public hearing opened, a service was held to praise the "righteous people". The 500 and more people crowding the courtroom were leaders and members of the Protestant and Catholic churches who were offering resistance. The "prisoners" were acclaimed with hand clapping when entering or leaving the court. When the trial was over, Martin Luther King's song of struggle "We Shall Overcome" was sung in chorus. The sergeant of the court tried his best to check, but the song continued. Therefore, after the sentence was passed on September 6, the "prisoners" had to be taken away unnoticed through the back gate and carried off in a car.

During the service held before the final judgment,

the preacher said in his sermon: "We are so sorry for this country which has already forfeited its raison d'etre, rather than for the honest friends who have been taken off into custody." Then, a poem with the title of "Voice of the Resisting Pastor" was recited. Here is the poem:

No, don't say
We are a party of ill-advised persons. *1
The cries of all people are rising.
Don't say we are anti-state. *2
The public cry is growing louder,
Soaring higher into the sky,
Ringing across the whole land.
Stifle the cry,
And it'll burst out more irresistible
Suppress the cry,
And it will ring out more forceful
The cry, like the sound of surf in a wintry night,
And the voice that leads the cry
Will never be silenced.
Even when physical death comes
This voice will never die.

*1 This is the terms used by the government when calling the resisting people

*2 This is also the word employed by the ruling circles when accusing the people

Is this the voice of people who know no fear even though they are in the minority? Or a voice to encourage themselves as the small minority? The Christian leader who told me of the fact said indignantly:

"Don't ask if they are the minority or the majority,

but ask if it is a righteous voice or not. A righteous voice is the voice of the majority of the people. They are only gagged by force. All the supporters of the Pak regime are fellows who get payments. But the resisting people do not take money. Not only that, they are suffering and being persecuted. Nearly all of those abroad who are backing up the Pak regime are also people who have been bought over by bribery."

Yes, it is a folly to ask whether they are the minority or the majority under this rule of violence. Mr. Kim Dae Jung called on the people to remember the fact that even in face of injustice and brutal force 40 per cent of the people used to vote for the opposition party's candidate for president. Pak Jung Hi who is afraid of the majority has built up the present system under which there is no election nor newspaper. The righteous voice is the voice of the majority. The majority will be able to speak out freely only when the long silence is broken and democracy is restored. Let us give ear to the voice of justice. The words of the recently arrested and tried pastors have come back to me. Reportedly, they said as follows:

"During the March First Independence Movement in 1919 the church of Korea stood by the persecuted people, proceeding from its religious belief. Then, the Korean church came to believe it its duty to emancipate all people from under any form of oppression. Now I am concerned more about what lies ahead than about what has been. This trial is conducted not only under the eye of the people but also before God...."

"I am responsible for all this trouble, because I asked

for the disbursement from the missionary funds. Also because after my acquittal from a 15-year penalty I could not have remained silent and inactive. I do not care if I get a 20 years' sentence. I want my offence to be clarified...."

"The first and foremost aim of the missionary work is to awaken the people who are oppressed in an organized society. The way to the elimination of their oppression should be sought out in this way. This is my conviction with which I have worked...."

"The freedom of religious belief should imply the freedom of action according to this belief. Only when I live according to the dictates of my conscience, can my life be worthwhile. The law of the Republic of Korea is not for the people; it is no more than a personal instrument of a man to attain his goal. This country has brought me up and taught me everything which I know now. I wanted to live as I had been taught. And now I find myself standing here. Whenever I appear in court, I feel agony, because this contradiction is not raveled out."

Even in distress a man should think what it does mean. This will add to the mental torture. But this agonized thinking will make it possible to endure the anguish and live on. One must do a deep thinking while in distress and acquire a noble mind.

Their sentences are six to 10 months, so when the five months they have already spent in prison are subtracted, they will not be long before being released. But there is no telling what pretext the Pak regime may find to continue to torment them.

The judge who read the text of the decision looked

worried somehow. It was an incoherent and perverted judgment. Several times his voice stuck for a lengthy while. They say the KCIA is angry at the conscientious attitude of this judge. The rumour is making its round that by way of revenge for the light penalties passed, the KCIA has arrested a son of Kim Gwan Sok, one of the accused, for violation of Emergency Decree No. 9. The charge of violation of Emergency Decrees can be laid to anyone. The victim is imprisoned immediately. There is a rumour that Mr. Kim Ji Ha has been committed for trial in camera. The defendant will have to face a trial in the office of the judge even without the presence of the lawyers. Who will ever judge such crimes of brutal force?

September 10, 1975

UNEXPOSED FACTS

The lawyer Han Sung Hon has been sentenced to one year and a half's imprisonment at the first trial. His only charge is that he undertook the defence of poet Kim Ji Ha, so they say. Writing about an executed man in an article with the heading "A Message of Condolence", he said that the man should take his revenge in Heaven. The lawyer had once been a public prosecutor, but is an advocate of the abolition of capital punishment. The charge against the executed man was espionage. The article made the author an offender against the Anti-Communist Law. One of the witnesses

is said to have given a witty and cynical retort: "Is there Heaven for a Communist? Is it not non-communistic evidence that the accused has spoken about Heaven?"

To our regret, the persecution of lawyers who plead for political offenders continues. Mr. Rim Min Gyu, the present counsel for Mr. Kim Ji Ha, has been referred to the disciplinary committee of the Ministry of Justice on account of the poet's "Declaration of Conscience". When a lawyer takes up the defence of a political offender, he is called a political counsel. He is hated by the government. So, the impression is created that his client will get into a rather unfavourable situation. The KCIA will of course interfere with the engagement of the counsel, but even before that, those who need to engage lawyers are afraid to go to him. So, the defence of or testimony for a political offender is attended by many difficulties. A lawyer or a witness who comes forward in defence of a politician demonstrates his bravery and readiness to fight precisely by doing so.

The number of books and periodicals whose sale has been prohibited keeps growing. Recently the young people seem to impart political meanings to the songs they are singing. This summer alone, nearly 150 popular songs have been banned. Among them is one which has long been in vogue and whose refrain says in repetition, "That's a lie, that's a lie.' To the Pak regime this song appears to sound critical of everything the government is doing or saying as untrue.

It is already half a year since 140 journalists were

expelled from the newspapers *Tonga Ilbo* and *Choson Ilbo.* All of them are now in distress. So, efforts have been made to reinstate about 30 of them in the news companies. But only four have been allowed to return. The demonstrations staged every morning in front of the companies' buildings have now been dropped.

About two months ago press prize was sent to them from the United States to encourage their struggle. But no place could be found to hold the prize-giving ceremony, and so the ceremony was held at the corridor of the Journalist Hall. The premium was 1,000 dollars. The journalists were happy and moved to tears by the encouragement. It is to be hoped that the press of the world will remember them, the best journalists of south Korea. When they meet their senior friends, they lament in a tearful voice, "When will it be for our press to play its proper role?" Many of them are rubbing along with difficulty, they even sell out their houses to keep body and soul together. Those who are going about in quest of jobs are increasing. But owing to the interference of the authorities they find it difficult to get a job.

I think I must write to the friends abroad about the New *Democratic Party, the so-called opposition* party, criticizing it rather severely. Still, a senior statesman said that there could be some 10 to 20 persons in that party who could be relied upon. But another person asserted that these were fellows who thought it would be bad if the Pak regime collapsed just now. Their term of office is six years, so their time will extend to 1978. They are simply eager to preserve this secured privi-

lege. Moreover, almost all of them have some kind or other of sore spots which give a handle to the KCIA.

But the resistance of the local members of the party who have no seat in the National Assembly is said to be fairly stiff. They are thinking of replacing Kim Yong Sam, president of the party at present, if only they could find a man qualified for the position. Seeing that they have stuck it out as members of the opposition party in the local areas under the grim political situation, they could be rated, in a sense, as men of a strong conviction. So, the senior statesman commented, if they could be inspired with new courage, the situation would not be so desperate.

Control is being tightened over all aspects of life. And only the voice of Pak Jung Hi is becoming louder, while perhaps the front of resistance is being forced into silence. Nevertheless, one friend said, resistance is expanding below the surface. He told me in whispers that there was a demonstration of about 1,000 students at Seoul University a few days ago. It was probably an outburst protesting against the ROK-Japan ministerial conference and demanding the release of imprisoned students. This demonstration, too, like that in the spring, may be kept secret, only resulting in many sacrifices. In the spring, the students had cried out almost desperately, "Let's take off the mask of the dictator and tear down the mantle of darkness."

Even in the icy cold of the winter
You lived on, hesitating all the time
You lived through all the sorrow of a prostitute
Who burns with the shame of the limbs being torn

And of being kicked while standing.
You will hear the shouting of a bloody struggle.
Then, we pray,
You come back to us in your birthday clothes.

This is a passage from the poem "April Requiem" dedicated to the memory of the late Kim Sang Jin, a SU student who killed himself in protest against the dictatorship. The poem is read among the members of the underground struggle. Their statements and poems sound like desperate wailings. I wonder what their cries were when recently they were taken off to the police dungeon like animals being taken to the slaughterhouse. Their pride bleeds under the blow of brutal force. Their bodies are torn by endless tortures, and this simply because they dearly love their country and cried for democracy. This time too, their cries would not reach the ears of the public. And who can they be, those who support this violent force only to save their own skin?

There is a rumour that some 800 persons were taken into custody. Newspapers keep silent, but it is said that at least 80 of them will be put on trial soon. Conscientious people are worried about the matter of supporting and defending them—how to finance and how to mobilize lawyers. So far appeals for aid have been issued so many times that I, for one, feel it a burden to write this article intended for abroad.

As for the case of Mr. Kim Dae Jung's so-called violation of the election law, five years' imprisonment

was demanded for the accused at last on September 12. The victor Pak Jung Hi who was able to remain in power by resorting to all kinds of injustices and violations and by using brutal force, is now fixing the guilt on the defeated person. During the election campaign in 1971, Mr. Kim Dae Jung stated that if Pak won the election, he would come to assume the office of the Fuehrer for life. This statement is now accused as a groundless slander. The indictment also says, "The habitual attitude of violating the election law is a manifestation of the undemocratic mode of political thinking." The implication is that Pak Jung Hi is a democrat while Mr. Kim Dae Jung is an undemocratic person. The latter's activities abroad after the so-called "Revitalization" are also called in question in the indictment. It will be remembered that it was a promise given to the Japanese government not to make an issue of the matter.

Newspapers say:

"During his life of escape abroad following the October Revitalization, he sought to lay the foundation for a provisional government in exile by forming a so-called National Congress for Restoration of Democracy and Promotion of Reunification. So, his acts abroad ran counter to the interests of the state."

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sel, they challenged the trial, they say. Even now Pak Jung Hi is eager to eliminate this rival, his most formidable enemy. Because he is aware that Mr. Kim Dae Jung has a grip on the south Korean people and on the honest-minded people abroad as the only man to replace him. Pak wants to make people accept the status quo of his dictatorship against the hopes of all those people. The alarm bell is ringing again as a signal of danger to the person of Mr. Kim Dae Jung.

It is rumoured that out of consideration for international relations Emergency Decree No. 9 will soon be lifted, if only for the present. Then the democratic forces will appear on the surface again. In fact, rumours are prevailing that something will be up again. Fearing this, the authorities have got rid of Mr. Chang Jun Ha and are about to condemn Mr. Kim Dae Jung to imprisonment. And they are also arresting a great number of students for the same reason. Even if a serious harm is done to Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the United States and Japan will only frown a little in embarrassment, but will immediately accept it as an inevitability. This the Pak regime knows well from experience. It has gained confidence and a cunning knowledge that when it makes a dash forward, they will come at its tail willy-nilly. But from now when the Viet Nam shock subsides and then the democratic figures raise their heads again, will not the masses be precipitated towards resistance and criticism?

It was by a manipulation that the masses followed the government for fear of communism, but this anti-Pak resistance's leaning towards democracy is the natural trend of the masses.

The consolidation of the ruling system is steadily in progress while the people are terrified. It may appear that street fighting is going to take place, the sentry posts fortified so far by sandbags are rebuilt into concrete pillboxes. Five-family neighbourhood units have been formed and the heads of the units have to report to the police box in charge every day. Thus, the Pak regime is hurrying along the irreversible track. It is said that almost all collaborators in the years of Japanese rule have been called into service. Even the houses and offices of foreigners, to say nothing of the private offices of Koreans, are exposed to danger. It is daily occurrences that houses and offices are searched by those who are disguised as burglars. Documents disappear, and sometimes there are traces of intrusion but nothing is lost. Those who have been acquitted testify that the tortures which were once given up due to the public opinion have all been revived.

The presidential mansion is connected with the central government building by a communicating subway. The basement of the government building has a Pak Jung Hi's room which is capable of radio communication with all provinces of the country and all units of the armed forces. The second stronghold is said to be on Mt. Kwanak-san near Seoul University and the third, in Suwon. It is supposed that resistance is possible even if a coup d'etat should break out. When I asked if it would not be all up with Pak, though, in the event of part of the army rising in rebellion, my friend answered:

"They have their ring in the army. Its members are placed at important posts where they can control the

army units. Already when he was in the Military Academy, it is said, Pak began to form his ring secretly. He who does not belong to this ring cannot rise to a high position no matter how capable he may be."

Hearing that, I was struck with horror. But another friend said:

"South Koreans are a people who aren't easy to organize, you see. Even the five-family neighbourhood units won't last long. They will find it troublesome to report every day. Soon both of those reporting and receiving the reports will become open friends and grow slovenly in handling matters. Things have so far failed to go well not because there have been no relevant law or organization. Even if such laws and organizations exist, they will prove useless after all."

But can we ever rest content with this? Surely the people of south Korea now want a change. In the depths of their hearts they think the Pak regime is doomed. Indeed, "the will of the people is the will of Heaven." The desire of the people for a change could be boiled down to three points. The first is that the resisting people are thinking of resorting to terrorism. There is no denying that they want such a course. This shows how desperate they are. Violence often calls forth violence, so this is regarded as a vicious circle. But one young man said:

"These days nonviolence invokes violence. A demonstration will be punished with death sentence. In such conditions power will come to decay due to violence, and the resisting forces will become more timid and decay through evading the use of violence. Nonviolence is a means. When the government without the

least constitutionalism collapses as a whole, there will only remain brutal force as a means for the resistance camp."

I could not find words to answer.

The second is the voices of the poorest people who think everything hopeless under the present conditions. A certain women said she was surprised when she once saw some people of north Korean origin voice their longing towards the north. She said:

"They speak openly of such things in the slum quarters, but nobody reproaches them. 'In the north we wouldn't be hungry at least, and could have a hope for the future of our children, too,' is what they say. I have never imagined there are people who voice this kind of opinion."

The third is the voice of the middle-class people. This is a voice of escapism desirous of emigration abroad. I remember an episode of the days when the newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* was putting up a fight. A university girl ran a support ad in the paper, which said, "If you lose the battle, I think I will emigrate" At the time these words won the love of people as they expressed the feelings of the south Korean people most aptly. They were indeed on everyone's lips.

The more quiet south Korea becomes, the more resonantly these three voices will echo through the land. They can wait with expectation for some kind of change as the democratic forces rise up and become more clamorous. If these voices growing so powerful cannot find a vent, they will form into an ominous swirling undercurrent. Mind you, Pak regime, and many "anti-communist, anti-democratic pro-ROK forces" that

are backing up this regime! Will you laugh off this analysis of the situation as a mere jargon of a south Korean?

September 17, 1975

THE IRRETRACEABLE TRACK

CONCEALED TORTURE

The Pak regime's suppression of the people seems to know no bounds. It may be said that it has cooked up every conceivable law. Anyone speaking ill of the government before a foreigner would incur heavy penalty. The suspect is watched under the name of protection. He has to get a police permit even for a trip. He is liable to preventive arrest without a warrant. And he may be imprisoned allegedly for educational purpose.

Still uneasy with this, they are enforcing Emergency Decrees on a permanent basis. They do not observe even the Constitution at all which they have arbitrarily rigged up by themselves. Their rule is based on the declaration of state of emergency and Emergency Decrees. But when they think the people become inured to the terrible situation, they invent a shocking incident and make it known through newspapers to cause a big sensation. This may be called a shocking remedy. They are now making a fuss. Issuing new "resident registration cards" to all the peo-

e. More, they have kept the teachers and school-asters across the country in horror for some time ese days. They threateningly declared: If students re induced to buy "supplementary teaching materials" besides textbooks it means their teachers have crooked business with the sellers, and thus they deserve to have an iron hammer brought down on their heads. Students and even their parents have been subjected to a sort of special investigation by the Administration Inspection Office.

Is it so hard to rule over the people? Inhabitants in neighbourhood units have been organized into ten-men groups and the authorities are kept informed of the situation in these units. All students are enlisted in the Student National Defence Corps. Schools are much like army camps. However, the Pak regime seems to be still in the grip of uneasiness. The KCIA, I am told, sometimes spreads a false rumour that a riotous demonstration has been staged or planned. Then follows a roundup of students. To bring about the desired result, it often organizes a small-scale bogus demonstration under its direction. This makes it difficul to distinguish between the sham demonstration an the real one. Many young people, therefore, thin that they need to closely watch what is happening.

On the other hand, some are afraid that the peop may give in completely in despair if they keep siler for so long. People are nabbed or taken to the aut rities concerned for no reason. This is a daily oc rence. This seems to be regarded as a "psycholo warfare" indispensable for throwing people in panic. It can hardly be said that the ruling circle

in a "state of perfect unity." They always find themselves in suspense and commotion. Their internal scramble for power, nay, the rivalry for ingratiating themselves with their only master, is going on endlessly. They may lose their positions should they rub him the wrong way. In particular, the members of the National Assembly from the Yujonghoe—those who were nominated by Pak Jung Hi—are seized with uneasiness, wondering if they will enjoy their privileges next year because their term of service runs for three years. This is why they *try to extend their term of membership* for another three years by displaying their allegiance to their master at every opportunity. At any rate, they are the biggest salary earners in south Korea, each getting more than one million *won* a month in addition to the privileges and concessions provided during their tenure of office.

Those in power are engrossed in detestable strife, while taking concerted action in manhandling the people. Their allegiance ought to be practiced by violence as seen in forcing the opposition National Assemblymen out of the session hall. They are a band of sneaks. A reporter who returned from a foreign trip recently told me:

"Everything looks more evident if you are in a foreign country. They (those in power in south Korea —*Tr.*) are vociferous in clamouring that south Korea is now placed on a wartime footing. But they indulge in mean acts which are a far cry from it. Sometimes their acts are so disgusting it is hard to describe. Those rendering devoted service to the Pak regime are a pack

of traitors who go against the people. This is an important question which is way ahead of politics."

Here is an evident sign of such posture. A rumour has recently been afloat in Seoul that Pak Jung Hi complained bitterly against Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil. The latter issued a statement to describe himself as a man better than the former, and his pictures and articles about him appeared in newspapers too often. Into the bargain, the KCIA and many other bodies, it is said, have been placed under Kim Jong Pil's control. They say that Pak Jung Hi, in anxious frame of mind, is checking up on a plan to bring Li Hu Rak back to the scene and put him in competition with Kim Jong Pil. Now abruptly, papers seldom carry Kim Jong Pil's pictures, statements and episodes about him, apparently because the said news has reached his ears. They must be tired out, for they have to pull through such a scramble.

Today I would like to tell my friends, above anything else, of an illustrative instance of torture. Last year was a year characterized by torture. Fragments of the story about it leaked out through courageous people and undaunted newspapers. This year the situation has become all the more tense. Even those who have been put to tortures can't speak out in fear of retaliatory measures. It seems there are scarcely any people at home and abroad who would take issue with this affair and launch a movement. Silence has to be kept despairingly. Is it that all have resigned themselves to the inevitable, regarding the Pak regime as such?

Here is an account given by a person who was

tortured. He said:

I was forcibly asked to disclose the whereabouts of a man who had gone underground. When I stepped into a chamber of the KCIA, the man who escorted me took off his coat and roared:

"You fool! Do you know where you are now?"

"Damn you! You haven't been through the mill at the KCIA, have you? Now I'll teach you a lesson."

He pushed me off the chair and made me kneel down.

"You had the presumptuous audacity to distribute a statement, eh!"

So saying, he quickly put an edged stick of a folding bed through between my legs before I knew. Another man pushed the door open and came in.

"Who is this!" "You are XXX, aren't you!"

"You shall smart for what you've done."

He stamped the inserted stick on both ends. It was the first time for me to undergo such a torture, and I gave a cry.

"You don't see where you are in. Why all this screaming!"

With this, the man who took me to the chamber pulled me up by the hair, and his hands shot up to give me violent slaps in the face.

"Haven't you met XXX!"

"No."

"You, son of a gun, don't know where you are! You want to get maimed? None has ever gone scot-free here. Get things ready in the cellar. We can deal with you quite simply down there."

Blows rained down on the cheeks, while good drubbing by the edged stick came on the back and legs from behind. The beating lasted about an hour. Blood trickled down. Torture continued. They yelled to me: "Are you going to resume the anti-government movement?" "You have met XXX, haven't you?" I said in reply: "I'm not going to join in the movement." But as to the latter question I repeated "No," because I had never had a chance to meet XXX. I was forced to write a statement, sitting up the whole night. The torturer ran his eye over it and barked:

"You don't want to spill the beans as yet? You wretch! Do you think this kind of statement can get you through? What a nonsense!"

The second round of torture was similar to the first one.

The man is now bed-ridden, suffering from some trouble with his liver and digestive organ, coupled with low blood pressure. He added:

"I was warned that I should never let out what had happened. I told the doctor that I had been beaten by the hooligans before he gave me medical treatment. It is dreadful and mortifying. The KCIA is a principal centre for torture and fabrication. They were ignorant and cruel. The tortures used on me might not be so severe, I guess."

Then he related a story of a man who had lost consciousness time and again. I was told that shots were given to the man who fainted to bring him to his sense. Nor is this all. Catholic priests were insulted in public. In order to preserve their "sacredness," the Catholic churches made a promise to keep mum

against their will. One of my friends who heard this story with me explained as follows:

"You see, they are running on a track. No one can stop them. All professors of universities and colleges including private ones are to be rescreened and reappointed by February next year. So, the KCIA members will hide themselves in bars, with pictures of those professors in their pockets, to find fault with them and spread a rumour that their dismissal is not for political reasons but because of their shameless acts. The authorities seem to expect that if only they succeed in capturing a few professors in that way, they can deal with the rest of them in the same fashion, labelling them as men of the same kind."

This is an age of "terrible ethics." The dastardly KCIA agents and Pak Jung Hiites would thus be made models of moralists. Meanwhile, those who resist them would be branded as unpatriotic and unmoral men who deserve the people's denunciation. This gave the government a good excuse for chucking them out of schools and throwing them out of jobs. The victims can file a complaint nowhere. But students may know what it is all about, whispering among themselves that they are really respectable men of noble character and intrepid teachers.

October 3, 1975

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN TURMOIL

Newspaper reports may give the readers an impression that south Korea is now "in peace and prosperity". A memorial service was held for Chang Jun Ha who had been killed on account of the "mountaineering accident". But there can be no longer any paper which comments on this. A statement of protest *against the unwarrantable detention of Kim Ji Ha was* signed by Yun Bo Son, Kim Dae Jung, Ham Sok Hon, Kim Yong Sam and three others. But papers reported nothing about it.

However, when I took up a copy of the October 13 issue of a newspaper, I could not but feel that it was a good mirror of the reality. A fire broke out again at the department store "Taewang Corner" at Chongryang-ri in the eastern sector of Seoul. It occurred for the third time since 1972. Especially, a big fire that broke out there in November last year claimed 88 lives. During the recent fire three were killed and over 100 shops were burnt down. The extent of the damage was reportedly 500 million *won*. Nothing was done to put the facilities in proper order after the tragic accident which happened last year, they say. There is little doubt that repairs were not made upon the facilities after silencing the competent authorities through underhand negotiations. Whatever tragedy may take place, the people of this country hardly draw

a lesson from it. Is this what they are really like? Or has the situation become too urgent to gain a lesson?

In this sense it can be said that the Pak regime has never learnt a lesson from the "tragedy in Viet Nam". Nay, the lesson they derived was something far beyond the universal knowledge and the people's expectation. Their lesson was that the people should be straitjacketed to prevent the conversion of south Korea into a "second Viet Nam". For this purpose, they needed the support of the US and Japan. The people never think this would not bring about a "tragedy". The reason is, above all, that the opinions deep-seated among them bespeak their uneasiness and antagonism.

Such uneasiness and antagonism were touched off by an assemblywoman from the opposition New Democratic Party. The 13th issue of the newspaper which reported the fire case informed that she tendered a resignation in the end. Kim Ok Son, the assemblywoman in question, the paper said, spoke at the session of the National Assembly on the afternoon of October 8. Here is the keynote of her speech.

All kinds of rallies for national security held in different parts of the country, formation of Civil Defence Corps and Students National Defence Corps, dissemination of war songs, incessant warnings against the danger of war and the watchword: "Let's build while fighting!"—all this serves as a leverage for extension of political power on the pretext of national security. The judgement of the possibility of the outbreak of war is exclusively in the hands of the dictator, who covers his maladministration with the absolu-

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to theme of national security, thus making the people his private soldiers and putting the people's life constantly on a wartime footing. Hidden behind the creation of war danger at present is a political aim far more than preparing against the southward invasion.

Needless to say, her speech was interrupted by the government party's obstruction. The assemblymen of Yujonghoe were the first to leave the meeting hall, clamouring that she must be condemned for her "speech advantageous to the enemy" even if the National Assembly has to be dissolved.

The ruling party decided to reprimand her, for a rigorous instruction was issued by the higher ups. The New Democratic Party stated that it would keep in step with Assemblywoman Kim Ok Son. But it seems to throw up the sponge under the pressure of the KCIA. So, she submitted a resignation, which was dealt with at a "closed door plenary session" attended only by the assemblymen from the ruling party, minus opposition members.

She pointed out in her statement on her resignation:

"Taking into account the possibility that the prestige of the country may be dimmed at home and abroad in case the government party divests me of my membership of the National Assembly, I have decided to give up my post at my own free will. Nowadays the political power is overruling the law. This brings me to inexpressible grief.

"But the unquestionable mission of putting an end to the recurrence of such bad practices and bringing about an era of genuine liberty and democracy at the

earliest date remains unchanged and so does my sense of responsibility for carrying it out."

In her statement Assemblywoman Kim emphasized that she became a Christian in her childhood and that she is still holding an important post in the church. In conclusion, she said: "I pray to my God on behalf of our country, the people and you assemblymen of the ninth National Assembly." The stress she put on her Christianization shows her spirit of martyrdom, as I guess, but this is not all of the implications. It means that she had to bother to ward off the malignant accusation that she is a Communist and that what she had done forms part of the communist manoeuvring. So came her appeal to the people.

Mrs. Kim was an assemblywoman dressed like a man. I still remember that, explaining what has put her in man's attire, she said: "I wanted to gladden my sonless mother" and "I should like to work on a par with man in the man's world." Papers published the news with heavy headlines as if they were protesting against the press gag This was aimed at producing a sensation among the people before the government takes measures to repress them. The way of dealing with the news is diversified. The guerrilla tactics alone enables them to inform the readers of the "correct reports" and show the "resistant spirit". The spirit of the nation is, though weakly, brought into play when such reports continue.

Powerless indeed is the National Assembly under the "revitalization system", under the "rule maintained by Emergency Decrees". In case a statement like hers is made, government-subsidized bodies such as

said to the Prime Minister: "The revitalization system shows the only way to maintain the existence of the nation. The Emergency Decree No. 9 is intended to tide over the national crisis." He went on: "I, therefore, believe a statement calling for the abolition of the revitalization system or democratization is an impermissible absurdity from a national point of view." Then he asked: "How does that strike you, Mr. Prime Minister?" The brazen-faced Prime Minister could find no other words for reply than: "You have given so detailed an explanation that I don't feel it necessary to answer.... I agree with you.... Much obliged."

A scene resembling a "cartoon" is presented at the National Assembly session over and over again. This "admirable cooperation" inevitably evokes a sardonic smile from the people. The people may find it hard to get along in this age unless they are broad-minded enough to smile wryly at it, holding back their indignation. The "one-man rule" enforced by the Pak regime only produces such caricaturable scene and occasions the outcries of the vulgar "reptile organizations".

Is it that the kind of people are all those who can survive under the tyranny? The situation, it appears, makes it unavoidable to be cruel in order to stay alive. We ought to combat the phenomenon of stiffening humanity. But how? At present various agencies are required not to use such words as "human rights", "revolution", "liberation" and the like. Now is the time when a mere utterance of "liberal democracy" is enough to bring you in trouble as disturbing elements.

One of my friends gave me an account of the economic life in which all manner of sacrifices are demanded of the people and yet which is impoverished beyond retrieve. The budgetary expenditure for next year is estimated at 2,826,300 million *won* or an increase of 58.2 per cent above last year's figure. Of this 34 per cent is earmarked for national defence. Accordingly, taxes are to be hiked up 64.9 per cent as against last year. The income tax is expected to grow 68.9 per cent. In 1972 the property tax per capita amounted to 10,610 *won*. It jumped up to 42,100 *won* in 1975 and will run into 60,000 *won* in 1976. On top of it, the government vauntingly announced that this year the income tax was collected 35.2 per cent more than planned.

How on earth things would work out next year?

There is no force which can debar the government from "running all alone" on the track. The opposition party has been reduced to a meek follower. All are driven to despair. There is not a soul who can afford to look after the people hard pressed with the sky-rocketing prices and inflation. The "high-ups" who assume the reins of government are in a position to continue to enjoy a "life of plenty" regardless of the fluctuation of prices. It will do if they live faithfully for themselves, not for the people. There is a terrible force which reproves anyone who tries to live for the people. But none will be reproached if he lives for his own good.

Let me add one or two points to this letter before I lay down my pen.

I hope you would understand, first of all, that it is

getting harder and harder to communicate with the outside as you can see in this letter. The route to the outside is being blocked. My wish is that our overseas friends would more seriously consider that the movement abroad remains next to only remedy against the difficult situation at home.

Is it all right to indefinitely continue with such silly act as to earmark more than one third of the state budgetary expenditure for armament? Truth to tell, it is also the price for maintenance of the regime of injustice. No one can tell how much more the people are forced to pay than that simply for prolonged existence of the regime.

One of my influential senior friends whispered to me:

"The Pak regime still feels confident in its rule within the country. But it cannot deny its international isolation. The reaction to this finds its expression in the suppression of the people at home. It is because they think the big power may need somebody else instead of the Pak regime in an effort to explore the new possibilities of solving the north-south question in particular in view of the new international situation."

The Pak regime has got into hot water both internally and internationally.

It is undeniable that those who think in the same way as just mentioned above regard Kim Dae Jung as the only successor. This explains why they are bound in apprehension for the calamities that may befall Kim.

It is tragic that there is no room for the freedom

of choosing any other man than him. So much so that he will be tormented by the Pak regime.

However, in that case he will present himself as a close-up of a sufferer or a hope for the people, and will undergo ever greater tribulations.

I wonder when such undesirable, cynical recurrence of bad practices would come to an end and how. I sincerely hope that this termination will be linked with a glorious moment to be recorded in the history of the nation.

October 10, 1975

REVELS OF THE FOOLS

"PEACE AND QUIET"

Today I should like first of all to extend my hearty thanks to our friends abroad. I have been feeling awfully languid and heavy as if I had swallowed a lump of lead, when some glad news have reached my ear.

One is of the demonstration held in 16 US cities on October 9 in protest against the Pak regime's suppression of the human rights. Another is of the outcries raised in the United States and Japan in favour of Poet Kim Ji Ha, the recitation of his poems and the performance of a play for his sake. In the Philippines too, I was told, Catholic bishops and sisters staged a demonstration in front of the south Korean embassy, demanding the release of Mr. Kim Ji Ha, which invited a clash with the troops. A US broadcasting station requested the south Korean embassy in the United States to give it Mr. Kim Ji Ha's address. The reply was: "How could we have all the addresses of the 30 million people?"

An outrageous act committed by the KCIA operatives was exposed at the Barsum coal mine in West Ger-

many where south Korean miners are working. The miners had attended a meeting in a church, defying the KCIA's prohibition, and were for that reason labelled as Reds, locked up and pommelled. It appears the mass communication media in Germany made a great splash of this. The incident seemed to have reminded them of the 1967 case in which the KCIA kidnapped south Korean intellectuals from West Germany and brought them to Seoul.

How does the world look to the eyes of the KCIA? Li Hu Rak, who was dismissed from the KCIA for the Kim Dae Jung incident, publicly declared in the past that he was "the believer in President Pak's faith." This faith seems to be greatly "beneficial" to its believers. For a rumour is prevailing among Seoul citizens that thanks to that faith Mr. Li made a fortune of 30,000 million *won* while serving as Pak's chief secretary, ambassador to Japan and director of the KCIA. Anyway, the incident in the German coal mine occasioned the complete replacement of the staff of the south Korean embassy in Germany. And a large number of more staunch KCIA operatives were dispatched there.

Outcries were raised in the United States: "Save Kim Ji Ha!" "Innocent men and women are dying in prison;" "500 students are undergoing torture;" and "You can save the lives of people in south Korea." Overseas south Koreans screwed up their courage and joined in such movements. It is said that many newspapers covered the incidents. This may be likened to a pebble thrown into a vast ocean. But, do they know that it gives us boundless encouragement? We believe that such voices coming out of conscience will certainly

defeat violence.

Still now, at least 500 students are either in prison or missing To be sure, many people are hiding themselves underground. But the students had secret discussions as to whether they would stage a demonstration this autumn or not. Because they had a vague hope that the demonstration would exert some influence upon the United Nations. They, doubting of its effectiveness, have probably adopted a "wise policy" of keeping silence for some time under the condition of horrible repression. With regard to this tranquility, an American told his friend, "South Korea is quiet, isn't it?" Then he added casually, "It seems things are exaggerated abroad." His friend could not but cry out:

"You don't talk just like the officials of the US State Department. They say there is no help for it since the south Koreans do not start any trouble. But, in actuality they give active encouragement and support to the Pak regime in suppressing the people. Having plunged us in such a condition where it is quite impossible to rise up, they urge us to try. And yet this foolish people have faith in you."

This friend remarked that the Pak regime was exhausting every means to suppress the people. Then he blamed the United States for praising it as the "determination of the friendly nation to defend freedom." The US Congressman who visited south Korea at the invitation of the Pak regime said: "The United States is the fortress of freedom and south Korea is the outpost of freedom." The friend retorted to the American by way of protest that the south Korean peo-

ple were admirable as they were not daunted by such international suppression.

He then added that the young people would inevitably become more and more anti-American.

The United States has not been an enemy of the south Koreans for a long time. We have so far been excessively pro-American. There will not be an abrupt change in such an attitude. But how can south Korea, which is now an almost unique pro-American state in the world, swim against the trend of the world? Heaving a sigh, he went on to say:

"The Americans view the south Koreans and this country only from the military standpoint. They do not give regard to the fact that people here are in agony and distress. Wasn't this the very standpoint from which they viewed Viet Nam? The United States will fail again here and taste another bitter cup of defeat, I am sure. This will probably mark the end of the United States in world history."

I called on one of my seniors after a long interval. Seeing me, he said in a serious tone:

"Chang Jun Ha was killed, I assure you. I've been to the hill in question. As for the scene, it is a cliff as steep as one can hardly venture down. But they say he did. No one but a madman would dare such a peril. He was killed for sure."

The reason for Chang's assassination, according to my senior, was that he had visited Mr. Kim Dae Jung several times. It seems that Mr. Kim Dae Jung, too, often called on him. Before he met the disaster, he had made a trip to Cholla Province for some unknown reason. He is also said to have made an attempt to

raise disturbances together with other seniors before the opening of the UN General Assembly. The KCIA was apparently informed of this.

"He gave me a hint that I, too, would be given a notice," said my senior. "A list of names of those to be killed has been completed. The methods of murder may be varying. Mr. Kim Dae Jung will be the next victim. I wish to cry to the whole world for rescuing him by all means."

*What a sorrowful story this is! It is what was whis*pered under the repressive Pak regime. I was staying there for ten minutes or so, when there was a telephone call from the police, asking, "Haven't you a guest?" I was obliged to come out in a great hurry and make the best of my way in the darkness. This is the sigh coming out of the situation of south Korea which the American and Japanese visitors like to describe as a "country in peace and quiet or a most tranquil land in the world." It may look tranquil to the eyes of those who do not feel pain and anguish at the present situation of the country; it may look peaceful and quiet to those who feel no agony and worry though Cheng Jun Ha was killed, a national poet is awaiting his execution in prison, National Assembly members are expelled and the news of young people being tortured are not carried in the newspapers Life may be as good as silence and resignation, and this society, if viewed from such a hopeless situation, may look peaceful to those who are starving after driven away to poor quarters and to those dismissed women workers who are crying out as follows

"We had worked at x x x of the Export Industrial

Group, but were fired out, deprived of the right to existence. We had filed many complaints while working at a minimum wage and under unfair working conditions. We had also striven to organize a trade union through legal formalities. Should we undergo this suffering because we went through legal formalities? Should we numbering x x be dismissed all together, accused and detained later for that reason...? We are bereft of the means of living, and what shall we do now? Our colleagues are dispersed in all directions. Some of them have fallen into temptation. One of them, who is living with her young sister, is keeping body and soul together on his sister's scanty earnings. We lodged complaints with the Ministry of Labour and many other organs, but our efforts have come to nothing. The other day we went to the Ministry of Labour, only to receive reprimand. We came back, weeping."

Only those who are concerned over the sufferings of the people can hear the breathing of this society which is far from quiet. That is why Poet Kim Ji Ha wrote a hymn dedicated to such women workers. It runs:

Our bodies may be burned and torn
To die for rough labour.
But let's win liberty with our own hands!
For a bright morning with smiling flowers,
For a bright world cleared of darkness!

November 5, 1975

A STORY ABOUT OLD RELATIONS

The power elites of the Pak regime are always preoccupied with the maintenance of power. They consider the people to be their enemy and refuse to face the world's trend squarely. It is these foolish men that the fate of the country is entrusted with. They think they have the support of Japan and the United States in exchange for their propaganda of the threat from the north. They might have capitalized on the defeat of the United States in Viet Nam in order to receive continued support from these two countries. The US Congress is said to have become somewhat indifferent to the problem of human rights in south Korea.

A thought haunts my mind that there must be an insurmountable relations of long standing between south Korea and Japan though there may be similar relations between it and the United States. Rumour keeps circulating these days that Japan will undertake war industry in south Korea. The Tongil-gyo Church has now become a privileged substance here. It holds a patent for the manufacture and sale of Koryo Insam Tea. The Pak regime supports the Tongil-gyo Church, because Christianity is against its system. It appears that particularly great importance has recently been placed on the relationship between the Japanese and American war industrialists and the Tongil-

gyo Church. Very queer is "a religion that aspires after world peace" while indulging in war industry. It is now an open secret that a factory under the Tongil-gyo Church which had formerly produced air guns started manufacturing rifles with Japanese help.

Production of arms for south Korea alone will not be so profitable to international merchants of death. Its object, after all, may be international munitions trade. It is said that the United States considers Japan can be allowed to support the Pak regime through such arms production in its stead because she is unable to back it by force of arms. Thus, the Pak regime has gone so far as to declare that it will be able to have self-defence capability within next five years.

South Korean people are forbidden to talk about the question of national defence. So, a defence tax was newly instituted to impose oppressive taxation on them. The new tax was expected to replace the defence contributions, but it turned out to be a wild expectation. Contributions are still in practice. Of late it is said that up-to-date weapons will be purchased from abroad. Word also goes round that emergency measures are often taken to collect defence contributions. For example, a cadre of the KCIA invites the owner of a private enterprise and accords him an unusual reception. Since the host is the KCIA, the guest is very much obliged for the treatment. Availing himself of the opportunity, the host tells the guest just a word: "The high-up wished you would make a defence contribution of 100 million *won* till x day, x month." There can be no objection. He should adopt

one alternative—to answer in the affirmative or to see his enterprise go bankrupt.

Are these contributions really used for national defence? Those who take it in a favourable sense would answer that the money is probably used in redemption of foreign bonds or in the construction of war industry. Other people, however, would say that it has its special use for maintenance of power. Some of them would say that the contributions may be apportioned also to the expenditure for preferential treatment of servicemen and for intelligence activities. It must be considered that their remarks are based on certain grounds. The Pak regime has formed an all-people organization with three or four households as the unit. It is going to change the "resident registration cards" and put the whole populace under a computerized system. It takes ten finger-prints of every person. The expense for building up a garrison state will run into astronomical figures.

The students have so far been regimented into cells led by professors. A professor always has to make a report on the movements of 20 students. That is to say, teachers inform against their students about their actions. The Pak regime has built up campus barracks such as the Student National Defence Corps, but it thinks this still leaves something to be desired. Moreover, a new method has been employed these days. The last year's university graduates were summoned and given special intelligence training at the former Army Security Headquarters. Then they were appointed plainclothes intelligence men and sent to their Alma Maters. It is said that they are already

active at Seoul University. Some of them disguise themselves as postgraduates. As they graduated just one year ago, they know their universities in minute detail. They have to prepare a two-page report every day. It is said that once they fail to inform against their juniors, they are court-martialled on charge of negligence of duties.

Every available means is also marshalled against Christianity. Recently more than 30 church leaders were invited to the KCIA. They were warmly received by all the high-ranking cadres of the KCIA. There they were told that, according to data confirmed, the World Council of Churches was not a pro-communist organization for which it has been subject to investigation, that Communists were in fact active in the council but the council itself could not be said to be communistic. Then the churchmen were asked to make sure that the delegates of south Korean churches tell, at the international conference of the WCC which was to be held before long, that there was no suppression of human rights in south Korea and the freedom of missionary work was guaranteed there.

According to the KCIA, its switchover to attaching importance to the WCC was occasioned by the results of the recent UN debates on the Korean question. It seems that the KCIA decided to take countermeasures, regarding the WCC as a UN of Christianity. Does this mean that the Pak regime has come to realize the necessity of putting greater significance on its internal and external policies towards Christianity? Scholars of religious science at Seoul University are reportedly asked to make a study on the treatment

of religions in various countries of the world and the laws on religion. A member of the KCIA is said to have tried to sound a church leader's opinion. Feigning a joke, he asked how that leader thought of the initiation of state examination for the Christian churchmen for improvement of their qualifications.

The Minister of Public Information confessed at a National Assembly session that overseas information activities had made slow progress. He also said that they were difficult in Japan because Japanese public opinion was strongly prejudiced notably against south Korea. He added that "apart from our endeavour, Japanese public opinion should reflect on itself." Every Korean is aware that such an endeavour is impossible without wasting a colossal sum of state funds. That is why people say that the allegation that the defence contributions are for purchase of the latest-type weapons is no more than a signboard to deceive people and that most part of the money would be spent for political purposes. One friend wondered if they were not collected for a large-scale political drama which would be staged before long.

It is true that a stupendous amount of money is expended for incessant information activities. Do the Japanese mass media really have the "prejudice against south Korea" as expressed with apprehension by the Minister of Public Information? It is known that the Japanese reporters are unable to make a detailed report of Mr. Kim Dae Jung's personal danger and find it difficult even to have an interview with him. There may be many problems to be solved in the relations between Japan and south Korea. Various

means may be applied for the solution, since the adhesion between south Korea and Japan is something like a long bond.

The President of Tokyo University gave a lecture in Seoul under the title: "Japanese Society and Universities." This sort of interchange is also vigorously conducted.

Many noted figures of Japan seem to have been lately mobilized to "inspire" us. I hear a meeting was held in Tokyo to encourage the Pak regime. Isn't this a thing we should express our sincere thanks for? How long do we have to receive such education from the Japanese with regard to our "duty"? We are criticizing the present regime, but the Japanese "friends" take the trouble to come to us and advise that our approach to the regime is wrong. Our criticism of that advice is not allowed. How timely their visits to this country are!

A Japanese critic told us that in its process of modernization Japan is committing "abnormal adaptation." Showing "a sympathetic understanding" of south Korea, he said:

"A military government or a regime established by coup d'etat cannot practice democracy. This is a fixed conception. It's abnormal adaptation, so to speak.

"It appears the south Korean government is trying to restrain liberty at a point 60 kilometres away from the cliff in order to check the process of communization at this juncture, while some opposition parties are talking that they might just as well stop it at a point 30 or 20 kilometres away. But the narrower the

width to the cliff, the greater the danger of communization. This is my view."

The critic was pleased at the fact that through his visit to south Korea he could reaffirm his right view. Then he added that in south Korea he found things were better than expected although the Japanese press was denouncing the south Korean government. It can be presumed from his lecture that he is an aesthetic critic, but what on earth did he see in south Korea? Did he see the full-blown beautiful cosmos in front of prison? How does he regard the criticism on capital punishment without a public trial, on the penal servitude for an indefinite period imposed on a poet who merely cried for democracy, the abduction of a politician from a hotel in Tokyo in broad daylight and the like? Does he regard it as a criticism based merely on the American-fashioned democracy? We are grieved by the fact that the south Korean newspapers are adorned with speeches of the Japanese with such a thinking. Why do the people of that sort have to visit south Korea and make speeches? Why should the Pak regime invite them and try to give publicity only to such speeches through the newspapers gagged by Emergency Decree No. 9? He might never try to think over these questions This may also be ascribable to the historical relations between south Korea and Japan.

Speaking of these long-standing relations, it can be said that their most glaring symbol is the incident of Mr. Kim Dae Jung. He is now in the greatest danger. The five years' imprisonment demanded against him is considered to be designed to actually

fix the penalty. I hear word goes round in the court that the decision sustained by the KCIA has been handed over to the judiciary in the form of printed matter. This is nothing more than a trial by the KCIA itself.

The Pak regime at first asked the prosecution to call 120 witnesses. Maybe it plans to make the trial of this case the longest ever known in history. This is aimed at tormenting the accused and depriving him of freedom. The prosecution has almost given up summoning so many witnesses, because the Pak regime altered its original scheme in order to conclude the trial in a short time. The Pak regime tries to condemn Mr. Kim Dae Jung as an offender as early as possible and is going to feign itself to be innocent on the pretext that it cannot be helped because the Ministry of Justice is independent.

This is suggestive of Pak Jung Hi's renewed determination to get rid of his rival whom he had defeated in the last election. Pak Jung Hi should not be judged with a common sense. Didn't the abduction of Mr. Kim Dae Jung in Tokyo itself show his intention to kill him? Such an intention is bound to grow further, never weakened. Its fulfilment has so far been held back by the pressure of world public opinion. It seems recently he has become emboldened to realize it, considering that he confirmed again the support of the United States and Japan. A senior who is with me in that told me as follows:

"They will keep him in prison and get him to take an incurable disease so that he may die slowly, I think. I met Mr. Kim Dae Jung a few days ago, when

he said between tears: 'I might have already been dead, sir. Thank God, I've lived two years longer. I only regret that I've failed to fulfil what I should do....' *I felt very much sorry for him. I wept, too. Now the* people are in despair. If Mr. Kim Dae Jung dies, they will be thrown into utter despair. The Pak regime needs such relinquishment on the part of the people...."

Mr. Kim Ji Ha may probably be left to a slow death in prison. Only world public opinion can save the life of Mr. Kim Dae Jung and get back Mr. Kim Ji Ha. Unhappy memories, two at least, always remain deep-seated with the south Korean people in their relations with Japan. One is of Kim Ok Gyun who fled to Japan after unsuccessful pro-Japanese coup in 1884 and the other is of Princess Min who was assassinated at the dictation of Japanese Minister to Korea in 1895. Kim Ok Gyun sought a shelter in Japan but in vain and went to Shanghai where he was assassinated. Min, Princess of the country, was killed by Japanese hooligans. I wish the fate of Mr. Kim Dae Jung will not renew Korea's old grudge against Japan. I hope that Japanese conscience will not tolerate it for the sake of the south Korean people. I do hope the Japanese will never say in any case that it is a matter related to the Pak regime and south Korea and Japan has nothing to do with it. I hope they will see that through the Mr. Kim Dae Jung affair the south Koreans gain new and beautiful experience in the relation with the Japanese My senior friend continued:

"The Pak regime thinks that some remaining criti-

cal persons will do it no harm if only Mr. Kim Dae Jung is removed. Because it considers that other people but this man are all under its thumb, are not much of great men and their possible criticism will only serve to embellish democracy. It thinks that without Mr. Kim Dae Jung, it will have no trouble in holding an election and giving publicity to the existence of democracy. In this respect, the Pak regime can co-operate with Mr. Kim Yong Sam. Preparations are probably being made under that plan."

Mr. Kim Dae Jung has again lodged a "complaint against the judges" with the Supreme Court. Bringing pressure to bear upon the court, the Pak regime must be lending its ear to the voices of the world public, though covertly.

November 15, 1975

THE REACTIONARY LOGIC

A clergyman referred to Mr. Chang Jun Ha in his first-day sermon at the chapel of Yonse University. For this he was unable to appear in the next service hour. After a long wait, the students could barely learn that the service for the religious hour was suspended. It is forbidden to speak of the sufferers. The Unification Party to which Mr. Chang Jun Ha had once belonged organized an investigation committee for that incident, but it was outlawed on charge of violation of the Emergency Decrees. According to a little

information which leaked out, there were at least two servicemen at the scene. The man who had accompanied Mr. Chang informed the army, not other mountaineers, of Mr. Chang's "disaster." It is believed that there may be reasons in that. Anyway it was a place one can never dare to climb down without the help of a rope.

A rumour is circulating that in early October a "plot" in the army was detected, which resulted in the shooting of 13 armymen. Towards the end of that month, five Catholic and Protestant churchmen were arrested and detained in Chonju of North Cholla Province. The reason was that they talked about the demonstration case of Seoul University and Mr. Kim Ji Ha's "Declaration of Conscience" and shared the view that Assemblywoman Kim Ok Son had made her speech with a clear conscience as a Christian.

A Korean student residing in Japan but studying at Hanguk Theological Seminary was arrested on the suspicion of being a spy. The KCIA is spreading a rumour about his confession to the effect that he had been to the north three times. But no one seems to believe it. It is interpreted as an attempt to stop the criticism of the Pak regime practiced by the Japanese Christian church and south Korean Christians in Japan. The KCIA wants to label even all the movements of the Christians in Japan as those conducted on the directive of the Reds. Does it resign itself to thinking that there is no other way but to resort to violence in silencing the criticism of the Pak regime? It may be thinking that it has no other recourse but to apply that means overseas, too. Obviously it has scored great

successes at home by exciting the self-protective instinct of men who, seized with fear, keep silence and flatter power. I read Prof. R.A. Fork's article carried in *Sekai*. All are deeply grateful for it. I think, this article, among those hitherto written by Americans, reflects most correctly the feelings of the democratic personages in south Korea. Everything is just as described by the professor. I could not but be surprised by the US officials' wild words quoted in the article. They spoke highly of the greatness of Pak Jung Hi and even raved that the south Koreans were in need of such a rough dictator. They also uttered that the attitude of the authorities practising cruel suppression without any justifiable reason was admirable.

What sort of fellows are these Americans? Their attitude has a likeness to that of a Japanese official who wagged his tongue at the Japan-south Korea talks that the Japanese domination in the past had been a good thing for Korea. When my friend met a well-informed American, the man told him that the KCIA would not use torture these days as it had accepted the advice of the American CIA. I wonder if the KCIA receive instructions from the American CIA even now. Cruel torture still continues. Many American statesmen, businessmen, scholars and conservative Christians have been invited to south Korea. They "confirm again" things with their own eyes and say they are better than expected. And they send their impressions to the south Korean press praising south Korea for defending "liberty." The United States and Japan are applauding even the Pak regime's suppression of human rights with a view to espousing

their military and economic interests. Underneath this eulogy lies the racial prejudice that "the south Koreans should be subject to such suppression." It is to defend their interests that they help the Pak regime and send scholars and literary men to it. Then they make these people state that the repression of the people is inevitable for good government.

Medium and long-term credits alone amount to 6,300 million dollars. In this sense, south Korea serves as a good market for foreign banks. Demand increases year by year for the payment of the principals and interests of the credits. Every year south Korea runs behind over 2,000 million dollars in international payments and barely gets over the difficulty by "favour" of foreign countries and through raking in high-interest loans. South Korea also serves as a lucrative market for foreign entrepreneurs. They can employ female workers at a daily wage of 350 *won* or so, and that without drawing a protest from trade unions. They are remitting the gains from it to their head offices. These entrepreneurs want above all the political stability of south Korea under the Pak regime. That is why they ask the Pak regime to suppress the insolent natives who talk saucy under the signboard of democracy. The Gulf Oil which had once caused a great public scandal is now very much satisfied with its recent acquisition of the right of management free from the south Koreans' interference. The price of oil can be raised at its request. So it has really nothing to complain of. The Pak regime has won powerful friends internationally, so to speak. The criticism made by a handful of unwealthy and pow-

less intellectuals will not influence the general trend, I dare say. If there is anything to be feared, it is communism in the north and the Third World which is gradually falling apart from the United States.

The views of these international supporters of the Pak regime are strongly prejudiced against the south Korean people as a race. Unless they hold such views, they cannot justify their domination and plunder. In this respect, they are in the same boat with the Pak regime. In order to keep their regime in power even by means of such atrocities the power elites try to justify themselves, saying that the people should be harshly suppressed because they are essentially bad and that that is why they maintain the most appropriate rule. This means that they have a people who cannot be governed without purging Assemblywoman Kim Ok Son. In their view, the people are so much unenlightened and lacking in political training. And on such an occasion the thugs of the US embassy are invited to the *kisaeng* party and the like to dance to their tune, blaring that the Pak regime maintains an "excellent rule based on a really good understanding of the south Koreans." This is the very beautiful cooperation among south Korea, the United States and Japan.

Under the condition of such collusion, the power elites always think themselves somebodies, as if they were not south Koreans. Indeed, Pak Jung Hi may be an "uncommon man" different from the people at large. Unlike the greater part of the south Koreans, he passed his susceptive youthhood at the Military Academy of Manchuria, the Japanese Military Academy

and in the Manchurian Army. After liberation, too, he certainly followed the road of life alien to others'. These people did not feel the necessity of saving their own skins by sacrificing their comrades and principle as Pak Jung Hi did during the mutiny of the army units in Ryosu.

There is no end of such stories. Doesn't the point lie in that the power elites of the present regime represented by Pak Jung Hi think themselves somebodies unlike the general public in south Korea? Does the question not lie in that they, as if mentally deranged, take no thought of others and do not hesitate to take any means to seek power and wealth? This derangement and inversion is the cause of the misfortune of south Korea. Is it not the international coalition of fascism that makes all these possible?

This fascism, in all respects, looks different from the old one. To perpetrate that fascism, Germany, Japan and Italy all praised theirs as the great nations having a mission entrusted by world history. With this logic they drove their people to fascism. With the same logic, in the early 60's the Pak regime, too, incited the people to fascism As a matter of fact, it harped on the same string in the early 60's. But it now asserts that Pak Jung Hi's semi-permanent repressive leadership is necessary because this nation is selfish, aimless and vulgar

Fascism changes its theories at its convenience just as one changes one's clothes at will. How is it that such a view on the popular masses identifies itself in reality with the Japanese rulers' appraisal of alien nations in the past? Nearly half of the Koreans who were

drafted for forced labour towards the end of World War II ran away. So, the Japanese officials prattled that "they lack patriotism, are strongly self-interested, waver often and work sluggishly."

Does Pak Jung Hi ever know this reason? He may not, because he was a loyal Japanese subject and armyman. One cannot lend meaningless cooperation to the ruler of an alien nation. One cannot submit to a base and corrupt person. The Japanese officials' discriminative words were designed to watch, suppress and kill our compatriots. The people now have to hear the same words from their own ruler. This precisely constitutes the greatest tragedy for our nation.

That is why the young people call the present time the extension of colonial rule. The spirit as seen in the Japanese officials during Japanese rule now lives in the mind of the Pak regime. The reactionary posture assumed in forcing a predatory order has been inherited. And those foreign powers supporting this regime are also guided by the base logic of subordinating alien nations. Isn't this the very idea with which the United States dominated the negroes and committed atrocities in Viet Nam?

Offering resistance to it, a very small number of intellectuals are calling for the liberation of the popular masses. The word "people" is the Pak regime's pet aversion. The statement issued in April last year in the name of the "National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students" was entitled "Declaration of People and Nation and Democracy." The Pak regime, too, uses the word "nation." But it is the nation under the violent power, separated from the popular masses.

The Pak regime says that the nation and the people are two different things. The intellectuals have come to think that a genuine nation presupposes such a people.

A short story gave rise to public discussion recently. It was a sad one in which the popular masses are compared to yellow dogs. The "Yellow Dog" means the popular nation. It is represented by a woman catering to the US occupation troops. Works of this sort are created one after another, giving attention to the people and indicting the violent power. They treat of human rights and class consciousness. In his long poem entitled "A Diamond," a poet who died young of late chanted as follows:

Capital rings the doorbell
Ministers and high officials of the Capitol
Building
Rush out barefoot and prostrate themselves
before it.
The next day, they
The officials, subordinates of the banks,
Cut sharply the price of rice procured from
Natives on the Honam Plain
And double or treble the price of the sugar
imported
By the capitalists.

Dealing with such a fatherland, another poet cried loudly as follows:

Korea's gate is sobbing today, too
Trees on the defeated land are wailing.
Thinking of our bisected motherland,

I really burst into tears.
I really fall to crying.

Messrs. Kim Ji Ha and Ham Sok Hon were agonized alike for their love of this people trodden underfoot. Mr. Kim Dae Jung named the future economy the "popular economy." They have a beautiful image of the popular masses. It is what Pak Jung Hi cannot have. It is because he takes them for his enemy, watches them and hates them. A loved thing usually looks beautiful and ideal. But I do not think such a cognizance taken of the tender feeling is a fantasy. Because it is their desire to join the people in building the country and an expression of their ideas. How can a parent without any affection for his children bring them up?

The Christian intellectuals, too, speak of the people and the revolution of the popular masses. And there appear reptile logics, reactionary logics, that blame them. A government-paid scholar contributed an article for a newspaper, clamouring for the "community consciousness" to "fulfil the state's requests." He did so in response to the slogan of "education for community consciousness" put up by the government in setting an education week. He argued that that is the national education needed for today's "ideological confrontation, national unification and the realization

terse and clear, but it is stung by anguish. Such reptile logics trying to silence it are ambiguous and full of quotations and flourishes. This may result from his attempt to conceal his intentions. He concluded his incoherent article:

"We have an important proposition that teaches us that we should not follow the examples of Viet Nam and Cambodia. How should we cultivate the sense of social responsibility of intellect capable of piloting our country along the safe course without sending it under the violent waves? This author still lacks assurance."

This boils down to this that when the wise man like him has no assurance, those calling for resistance will be all the more so, and that therefore they should keep silence. He must have a mind to tell that they should follow the leadership of a man with such a "sense of responsibility" and "reliability."

Those who attack the prudent yet obviously critical persons have the liberty of publishing their articles in newspapers and magazines at any time. Even the sale of translated versions of the books which seem to deal with the people is forbidden. Therefore, the small number of Christian intellectuals without the privilege of speaking freely can barely talk about the people to the limited members of the church. But even this is not free from the attacks of such a "great phi-losopher. A presbyter told me with a sigh

"This era may be invisible to the eyes of the intel-lectuals who boast of their learning. But [illegible] sible to the eyes of a small number of [illegible] people, I'm sure. But, now their [illegible]

deliverance from ruin. And the speed of that fall is too fast. The stupidity of power can never be remedied. And it really forces imbecility upon the popular masses. What with resistance and what with suppression of it, this country is now in great confusion. But all these outcries give an impression of revelry of the fools. The future historiographers will never fail to record this era as one of the most uncivilized eras in the history of the popular masses."

November 15, 1975

THE SENSELESS AGE

THE RIGOROUS WINTER

Should this nation really remain as it is? *In* a certain place (hard to name it exactly) a teacher had the following conversation with children in a slum district:

"You little ones too must be lucky if your father were a king or President, I'm sure."

"No, if we were the sons of the President, we might be killed."

"But you are wrong, I must say. It's so only in our country, not other countries."

At this question of the teacher, the children got into arguments with each other. "Marvelous!" the teacher muttered to me and added: "Children of this country are really premature. Adults' wishes have politicized the children so early." I could not but think over this for a while. The masses despise power. So the latter cracks down on the former more harshly. But crimes only swell. And when the man now in power ruins some time, the tragedy will affect even his sons. Is it not a legacy bequeathed from the feudal monarchic age when all those on the three sides (father's, mother's and wife's sides—*Tr*) are said to have

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been exterminated in a strife for power? Power will cling more tightly to violence. This wicked age must come to an end some day. But what will become of the wicked spirit nurtured by this age and the people degenerated by it? Here is a letter of appeal written by the sixth-year primary school children residing in a slum area.

How are you? We are children living at number XX, XXX dong. Our houses have been pulled down. As our families have nowhere else to go and no money, we are living in tents on the roadsides. We would importunately ask our fathers and mothers to move to good houses, but only to get scolding. It may be because they have no money. When Sunday comes round, the children of rich houses go to the church in their best with the Bibles in their hands, singing a hymn. The sight is so enviable that tears come to our eyes. Teachers, please help us. Even at school we don't feel like studying. We wish to go to the church. Those uncles of the evacuation team come carrying sticks and hammers and destroy our tent-houses. As they took away the stopcock, we can not drink water.

Teachers, please try to meet our wish so that we can study in peace and go to the church even though we are living in the tent-houses. When we grow up we will do many good things and become fine persons. Good luck!

XXX, Second Class,
Sixth-Year, XX Primary School.
On behalf of all the children of the tent village

These poor people are not welcome anywhere. They were turned away by the authorities, the relevant agencies and the World Organization of Civil Liberties, I hear. They were also driven out from a church. *Yet they are wandering about in this cold with a* faint hope for a helping hand that might be stretched out to them by one of so many churches. Here is a passage from a "woman's appeal."

My husband drowns his aching heart in drink, and restless children cry. To whom should we housewives turn for existence? It is really a torture for me to pass one day after another. I wish myself dead. The evacuation team has left us only pieces of boards. The house*hold things are all in a jumble, and the children re*proach this mother. They, however, would collect those pieces of boards and soothe me, saying· "Let's rebuild the house quickly." My heart is rending.

In the appeal she named the Yongrak Church, the biggest one in south Korea, which boasts of its 10,000-odd believers. They had visited there too, only to be chased away by the gate keeper. To maintain their existence, however, they have to call at other churches. Has even humanism dried up under the despotic rule? Do we take an interest only in those unfamiliar sights, while lending a deaf ear to the cry of those young people who fight for freedom, staging hunger demonstrations? Is it that the age has come when the resistance struggle looks merely a show of the people?

The winter of south Korea is

How will they manage to tide over this rigorous winter? Some 1,000 people of 200 families are living in the tent village of Chungrangchon. The evacuation team would come any time to pull down their tents. It is said that the poor inhabitants are unable to go out for day labour as they have to guard their tents. So they submitted the following request to the church.

1. Please convey to the authorities our demand that the evacuation be put off by the next spring.
2. It would be grateful if a medical group is sent to the inhabitants who have grown weak from the ceaseless trouble of evacuation and cold weather.
3. Because of constant evacuation they are unable to do labour and are now all on the verge of starvation. We hope that the church will show us favour on the coming Christmas.

Why should evacuation be obstinately forced on that slum area this cold winter? They say it is because communism should be opposed. In their eyes it is a hotbed of Reds. Maybe it is also aimed to give the impression that Seoul has no slum. Yet another aim may be to remove the ground of those critical young people who have worked in that slum and, at the same time, to serve those who have bought that area. This is the anti-communism of the Pak regime which has established a war footing under the pretext of the threat from the north.

Numerous are the materials telling of the misery of the masses and the harsh plunders. Four years ago a young worker burned himself to death at the Pyong-

hwa market near Tongdae-mun Gate, where clothing mills stand close together. The reason was that he could not bear any longer the sordid act of the authorities denying the labour movement and miserable sight of the women workers. But the reality has not changed at all ever since. Out of hundreds of workers, female workers hold some 85 per cent. Nearly half of them are girls under 17. They work 13 hours a day from nine in the morning to ten in the evening. They are allowed to have only a short break for lunch. Their monthly wages are set from 3,300 Japanese *yen*. A skilled worker receives 6,000 *yen* and a technician, 12,000 *yen*.

A labour union has been organized with difficulty. But it is unable to carry on its work because of the KCIA intervention. It is a duty of the KCIA to prevent the activity of the labour unions. Besides their salaries from the government, the KCIA agents secretly obtain special allowances from businessmen every day.

The situation is about the same in wig mills. A newcomer gets 120 *yen* a day and a female group leader with a work record of four years 315 *yen* In winter they get chilblains. They have scarcely any rest. They are beaten if they refuse overtime work at night. Their wages rose 37 per cent thanks to the great efforts of their labour union, but instead their union leaders were imprisoned and put to torture at the hands of the KCIA.

Let me introduce a toy factory run under south Korea-Japan cooperation. It is a big factory where 3,500 workers work in eight-hour shifts. Their monthly take-home wages are 7,500 *yen*. A worker with a reco

3 years' service gets 15,000 *yen* or so. Their mealtime is limited to thirty minutes. A Japanese sweater mill in the free export zone is worth quoting. This export industrial zone is much like a foreign territory within south Korea. The formation of labour unions is impermissible there. No retiring allowance is granted. This zone is even outside the nominal labour law. Female workers work 10 hours a day for 150 *yen* and six days a week. They are forced more often than not to do overtime work by two in the morning. Their dormitory accommodates six to nine per room.

A female worker rated as group leader with a considerable experience gets less than 10,000 *yen* a month after the lunch bills are paid. Those pro-south Korean Japanese, provided with such favourable business conditions, are backing the Pak regime. Their cold mind may be said to be colder than the winter of south Korea.

December 5, 1975

TRICKS PLAYED ON THE MASSES

These days the news of the arrested young people is kept quite unknown to the public, I hear. No one can tell who is apprehended, where he is gone and who is let out of prison. Every case is in the dark. It appears that many people are being tried in camera.

Things have now reached such a pass where one is subjected to apprehension if he keeps a copy of the news letter issued by the purged *Tonga Ilbo* reporters.

The public trial of 22 Catholic students was held a few days ago. The students resisted, singing the patriotic song. So the place of their trial had to be moved to the private office room of the judge. One student let out a cry in that room. At this, students' families rushed up to the sixth floor of the court building and strongly demanded an interview with the chief judge. But they were dragged down. And some other students received decisions at the detention room called the "pigeon house" which is attached to the court building. They seemed to have been sentenced to penal servitude up to ten years. But the newspapers keep silent about this case.

Meanwhile, the press gave prominence to the news that at the national meeting of court presidents instructions were given as to strictly observing the "independence of the judicature" and orders were given as to "exercising prudence in issuing a warrant of arrest." More interesting is the news that the Supreme Court has made such a lofty decision as to "illegalizing all cases that were tried in the absence of defense counsel, imposing more than three years' jail sentences upon the accused." The Supreme Court also lucidly declared that the decision of a court-martial was illegal because it was given without the final statement of the accused. Why do the papers highlight such news? It is because they want to prove the "solemn existence" of the "independence of the judicature?"

Their aim is to make the people disbelieve the words that the resistant people have been outside the reach of that legal benefits, and take it as a mere rumour.

Everything is devoted to manipulating the masses. Spy cases may be a most striking example of it. They are made public in succession at intervals of a definite period. South Koreans in Japan are often used in the concoction of spy cases. The recent spy case involving Korean students residing in Japan but studying in south Korea was a shock to all in many aspects.

Such a case is evidently effective in manipulating the masses. Since the threat from the north is warned against, its evidences must be shown to the people. But anyone awakened even a little way senses that something has been invented again. This time the accused were charged with attempting to set up a "leadership body of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification" in the campuses. In such a case, they are naturally accused of having worked together with the force supporting Kim Dae Jung in Japan. The friends in Japan should be informed of the following words of a reporter:

"The current case has been cooked up with the Kansai district of Japan as a centre. Some important figures from KCIA hold key posts in the consulate there. They must have long paved the way for this case. The KCIA stooges are raking critical persons together. Most ones fall in the trap. The KCIA keeps cooking up cases in Japan. In future one may run up against more instances where he has to disbelieve the reports about the anti-Pak organization, anti-Pak sta-

tement and the like. Such reports may contribute to soiling the image of the anti-Pak forces and detaching people from them."

As for the people at home, they are able to protest by producing some counterevidences even if they are involved in such fabricated cases. But the case is different for those from Japan For they had possibly been to the north while in Japan Once involved in such a case, they have no word to say in excuse. This is their troubled handicap. Japan may be said to be an ideal place for the Pak regime to easily cook up cases for the manipulation of the masses. I believe Amnesty International is the right organization for helping them.

It is really gloomy these days My professor friend said he was quite unable to delve into his study for all his efforts. A few months ago a great wave of commotion swept middle and higher schools. Those using unauthorized reference books were charged with having conspired with publishers. The examiners from the inspection office broke into classrooms, and the authorities called up students or examined their parents and older brothers. This row covered the whole country. What the Pak regime gained here was its political control over those middle schools. It was intended to break the precedent of the April 19, 1960 Revolution which could topple power with the participation of middle and higher school students in demonstrations. That row, however, destroyed the morale of both school managers and teachers. Teaching is now no longer a sacred profession. Under the condition where even private schools are deprived of

the right to appoint their teachers, the KCIA agents may find their way into the ranks of teachers. Teachers look for every chance for resignation. This is the very posture of the people who are sinking under the anti-communist brutal power. Being treated like a convict, one can hardly teach school.

Still is there any hope for this country? Everyone looks senseless. So are those who once resisted heroically. They are all worn out. They even don't feel like shouting. And yet, it cannot be said that they are in despair. They seem to have some resolution at least. The KCIA is suspicious of this silence. How should we explain this mentality which considers the repressed silence to be suspicious? The people's conscience is still alive. Silence is resistance to violence. Their disgust for the Pak regime is only smouldering thicker.

Such feelings of the people, such conscience of the young people, will burst forth if occasion arises. Yes. We are by no means sleeping nor are dead. I'm moved to hear the breathing of this nation.

December 5, 1975

THE SPEECHLESS MOUTH

You don't have a mouth to speak. This is a contemporary epigram widespread in south Korea. They say they have the mouth only for eating and drinking. Any criticism of the Pak regime is taken as an attempt to shatter the myth that Pak Jung Hi is the only ruler.

Under such circumstances, what should be done to combat this power? No one gives answer to this question. Strategic and tactical guidance is wanted.

The Thursday prayer meeting which has been resumed is running up against various obstacles. One day an elder pastor was arrested and imprisoned in his attempt to preach a sermon, "On the miserable end of the opposer to God." Another day the caretaker who kept the door key of the church, the meeting place, was missing. He was taken to somewhere by the KCIA. As there was no help that day the believers had to have their prayer service on the staircase of the church, surrounded by many agents from the authorities. The managers of this church were warned by the KCIA that they would not go unscathed if the church building was used again as the place of such prayer meeting. What road should the fighting minority trudge along in the future?

The word "spontaneous communism" is now on the tongues of men. It means that one may conduct communist activity without having contacts with the north. They say such people must be poor and clever. The two purged and arrested reporters of *Tonga Ilbo* were placed in the category of such people. Should poverty itself become a sin in this country?

It is said that various tragedies are taking place among the families of those who were executed or condemned to the penal servitudes up to 20 years on charge of being involved in the People's Revolutionary Party case. A housewife who opened a drug store has come to close it, failing to draw customers who fear the eyes of the authorities Another house-

wife committed suicide, and yet another housewife attempted to kill herself, but failed. She is now missing, I hear. They say the poet who was purged from teaching profession on account of his poem "Winter Republic" has come up to Seoul, unable to live in the countryside, but is now finding it hard to earn the daily bread. The family of Chang Jun Ha who was "killed from fall in mountaineering" has lost the means of livelihood. They say his son had to leave his high school halfway.

The press is passing a secret censorship. They say it will be regulated by law in the future. Erihi Hurom's "Sound Society" translated by the dismissed *Tonga Ilbo* reporters was prohibited from sale. It was not because of its content but of the "improper behaviour" of the translators. The ban was lifted three months later, and many churches became buyers of that book. In the teeth of suppression, those who have managed to draw scanty incomes are helping those who have lost their source of income. In face of the dry-leaf operation of the Pak regime, they will have to carry on the arduous struggle for existence.

The word goes around that three students who had concealed themselves since the demonstration of Seoul University held on the 5th were rounded up recently. The house of a professor of Rihwa Women's University was searched in order to examine a seditious literary magazine. Those three students who had found shelter there at the time were caught and jailed together with the professor.

It is said that a south Korean woman delegate exposed the dark aspects of south Korea at a meeting

of women public figures held recently in East Germany. Nobody knows who she is. But, pleading this event, the KCIA is harassing the critical women in Seoul. It insists that they might possibly have relations with that woman delegate. The KCIA cashes in on any happening outside the country with pleasure if only it supplies a good pretext for the suppression of people at home.

The following instance may serve to show how clumsily spy cases are being trumped up. A certain person found his name on the publicly announced list of those arrested as spies. But he went with impunity in his house after undergoing little investigation. Apparently there was a sudden change in the operation plan that at first envisaged the arrest of that person.

A rumour has it that the Presidential Emergency Decrees are so unpopular that an attempt is being made to abolish the present Emergency Decrees and rig up another more effective law. A law of this sort is not a law but a means of intimidation to the people. The people think the resistance to such a law is rather a heroic deed than a crime. Nonetheless, suits are brought against its violators and at such grotesque trials the defendants are convicted without any evidences.

The most typical example of this is the trial held against Kim Dae Jung two days ago on charge of violating the election law. More than 500 people gathered in the courtroom. Domestic and foreign newsmen exceeded 100. The defendant was sentenced to one year's confinement. After this sentence was pro-

The cross-legged wields a club at intellectuals. The KCIA construed the cross-legged into Pak Jung Hi. Thus there was put up a poster which has no picture but a circle originally drawn round it.

Let me report one more ironical thing of this country where the "brilliant celebrations of the declaration of human rights" are held under the sponsorship of the government. Mr. Kim Chol, chief of the United Socialist Party, is now in detention. He was found missing around the end of August. Only four days later was his whereabouts known, and it was inside the prison. The reason for his arrest was that he had violated the anti-communist law by making public a copy of the written arraignment of a USP cadre. It was alleged that the written arraignment had encouraged the activity of the north by saying: "Why should Mun Se Gwang have killed only that woman? If he had murdered the man and woman alike, all would have danced for joy. How impudent it is to call that woman the mother of the state!" Concerning Mr. Kim Chol's arrest, my friend of the USP had this to say:

"In November of last year too, the gangsters sought to abduct him. Without question it was a work of the KCIA. As it happened in the middle of the streets in broad daylight, some 100 people gathered there while he was putting up resistance. University students ran to us at the time to convey the news, and we rushed to the scene. The scheme to abduct Mr. Kim Chol miscarried. Recently he had been covertly mustering critical forces. Thus he has become a people's leader rather than the leader of the USP.

Hence they have had to crack down on him more harshly."

Mr. Kim Chol is a modest and sincere person who is disinclined to appear in the limelight. He may face the same fate as that of Mr. Chang Jun Ha who met an "unnatural death" or that of Mr. Kim Dae Jung who is condemned to "confinement." The USP has claimed an open court for Mr. Kim Chol. It is now at length presumed that his case will be tried in a few days. We wish to appeal to the world not to forsake the socialism of south Korea which will echo the voice of the conscientious youth and intellectuals after the collapse of the Pak regime.

Economic inequality, corruption and infringement upon human rights—these are the track which the Pak regime cannot leave as ever. It may be said that although the people look tired and senseless they are boiling over with indignation in their hearts. Informed of the news from the United States that US Congress is against the offer of aid to a corrupted country, the Pak regime is raising a noisy clamour these days about the clean sweep of irregularities and corruption among the government officials They say the salaries will be jacked up over 45 per cent in the New Year. Officials are strictly controlled from frequenting restaurants. But, for all its false shows of remedying something, the Pak regime is "already too late to win trust from people and the world." This is the feeling of the south Koreans.

December 15, 1975

SONG OF AWAITED SPRING

ONE ANALOGY

Over 220 songs are placed under a ban. The alleged reason is that they incite self-abuse, pessimism, depravity or despair. Then, what is there to sing in this dark age? It is just like nipping off the sprouts while leaving roots and branches as they are. Such words as "anti-communism," "national unity" and "national resurrection" much advertised by the government do not appeal to the people. Hence there have revived these days the self-abusive and sad songs which were in vogue under Japanese rule. Since the songs of the present sorrow are banned, there is no other way than to sing the 40-to-50-year-old songs of the past sorrow. Here might be an analogy between the past and the present.

Here is a story concerning the ban on songs. The song "Why Do You Call Me?" was tabooed for a quite incidental reason. At a certain university the Student National Defence Corps members were receiving their first military training last October. The university president mounted the platform and gave his 8,000 stu-

dents the word of command, "Present ermsl" But no students gave "presented arms" or came to the salute. Instead, they cried in unison, "Why do you call me?" So they were called out one by one before the president and forced to "present arms" or make a salute. Over 260 foreign songs are prohibited on the ground that they are unsound. They include "We Shall Overcome", a favourite song of Martin Luther King (a leader of the American negro movement who was assassinated by reactionaries—*Tr*). When some higher school students were going to sing a song on the guitar, the police turned up and walked them all off to a police station.

Books are censored and prohibited from sale. Even dramas undergo trials. The ban is placed on the play which has run as many as 77 days, an all-time high in the stage history of south Korea. Everything must not be popular because a seditious thing always goes with what is popular. No small number of plays are interdicted even before they are put on the stage Performances are dull as some lines of a playbook are crossed out.

What should we call this age? They seldom carry comments while dealing with political news, news reports, stray notes and the like. Magazines, too, do not comment on the home politics at all. Hence a newspaper wrote that there is no politics but administration now. The Catholic Cardinal expressed his wish for "a country of justice in the real sense of the word, a country of priceless freedom, unbreakable love, universal harmony and eternal peace." He held that "human dignity must not be violated by any individual

or any political power."

The Cardinal must have thought, above all, of the suffering Catholic students who were sentenced to heavy penal servitudes up to ten years on the mere ground that they had uttered democracy at a Catholic church. How do they hold out this cold? Their mothers must spend sleepless nights in tears, the long nights of the year end and this January. Their sons were convicted in camera. Resistance to law is considered a heroic deed in this country. How in Heaven's name could it be that a pack of those trying to survive under this law, those seeking wealth and fame, are keeping themselves around those in power?

The Protestant Christian Church Association too seems to have tried to echo, though feebly, the voice of the people in its message which reads in part: "We pray that God may throw light upon those people blinded by darkness...so that they may realize and remedy their faults." What on earth should this mean? We must raise an outcry against this agony, even if it fails to reach the ear of the world public. The evil must be indicted. If one, overcome by distress, keeps mum and lives an easy life in this reality, a horrible corruption would follow him. Wasn't it because of this corruption that those one-time resistants drifted to the ranks of reactionaries? An outcry may be trampled down. But this is not a defeat of it. If this outcry becomes even deeper, broader and higher just because it is trampled down, it may be the start for victory. Defeat means stopping an outcry and falling into silence; it begins with the reactionary spirit that admits a trampled outcry to be a defeat and openly

declares all the foregone outcries to be meaningless.

These days my thought goes thus to the problems of revolution, defeat and reaction. So I often sink into a sullen mood. And I envy those Communists who, with faith in history, are going their way through with unflagging tenacity. Maybe I'm a far cry from those revolutionaries. Why should such weakness live in my mind?

We must say there is one analogy between the darkness of today and the darkness right before liberation. At that time we lived amidst scorn and contempt for ourselves, lamenting our enervation. So do we now. My disciples were sent to prison in 1974, and their unforgettable images are vivid in my memory now when the year 1975 is drawing to a close. At the close of a year one cannot be free from the strong feeling of self-scorn though he entertains a hope when New Year comes round. An elder writer complained that he could not tolerate such fate, such history of calamity.

"I have no will, judgement and boldness enough to face squarely and go through the reality that has been imposed upon me. I have only a bitter remorse for the failures I have ever met. My mentality is feebler than a crawling worm. It is meaningless and spiteful."

He said his happy thought, if any, is that those "highly commendable" friends, now having left this world, are throwing light over this land like an undying lamp. They are so "many stars." They lived

clean even before the brutal power and died courageously. They did not forget to love the compatriots and sing for their good. Reading this writing, I sensed the bitter mental agony of the south Korean intellectuals and could hardly keep back my tears. Anyway it will contribute to the verses of awaited spring for present-day south Korea.

The author had to restrain himself. But we can sense everything from these few words of his writing. It seems a lamentation for himself but, in actuality, it is a lamentation for the fatherland. As for the poets under Japanese rule, their "beloved" meant a beautiful lover, their homeland, their comrades, and themselves.

The reality must have been too harsh for them to take action. The intellectuals might have sung only the song of awaited spring deep down in their hearts; not bending their constancy. In this sense, they might have been "onlookers" who have an aching heart in distress. And that spring should have come from somewhere. So did it, but not by their strength. How can they get out of this limited mentality? This should be made the task of this year, 1976.

January 5, 1976

CABINET RESHUFFLE

In the past, resisting people were disinclined to meet opposition personages. It was to defend the

"purity" of their resistance, that is, to hint that their struggle did not come from the political interests of the opposition parties. It is true that this posture led to weakening their struggle. That was why the KCIA tried to see the moves of intellectuals and students in the light of the political designs of the opposition parties.

Nowadays, however, the opposition New Democratic Party assemblymen are rather reluctant to meet the resistants. They seem to figure their contacts with the dissidents would defile the "purity" of the opposition parties. Bishop Chi Hak Sun once sent a letter concerning the "Social Security Law" to President Kim Yong Sam of the New Democratic Party last autumn. In the letter he asked President Kim to fight more positively to abolish that evil law under which anyone considered to be seditious by the government would be placed under lifelong "supervision and protection" Under the "Social Security Law" one ought to inform the police of his every movement and receive their instruction up to the day of his death. It would be much like a "life imprisonment without adjudication." Bishop Chi Hak Sun hoped the New Democratic Party would quickly join hands with the democratic forces outside the party through negotiation to combat this "Social Security Law." President Kim Yong Sam did not give any reply to this. How will this New Democratic Party cooperate with the Pak regime this year? We expect nothing from it, but cannot but watch its movement just like a spectator seeing a play.

It is widely known in Seoul that the 1974-75

foreign currency deficit exceeds 4,000 million dollars. Pak Jung Hi must be knowing of this. But, feigning ignorance, in his New Year address, he croaked happily that nation's strength has doubled in the past five years and that we are now living in the age of national resurrection under the system of an independent economy. He talked as if there were none of the dark sides in the people's livelihood, let alone the foreign currency deficit. How far this "address" is away from reality! He had the cheek to say it when even newspapers often report about economic crisis these days.

Papers say that foodstuff prices, for instance, have soared 33.6 per cent in one year. In banking transactions, they say, 27.6 per cent out of the bills amounting to over 5 million *won* were dishonoured in December in Seoul. There is a rumour flying about: "When the country is ruining the plutocrats are fattening, foreign currency is flowing out of the country and their second generation are inclined towards a fast, dissolute life." My friend's comment on this rumour is interesting.

"It seems that the ruining country brings the misers more money than the thriving one. I have read this probably in the 'Gone with the Wind.' I think now is their time. That kind of rumour is the voice of the people, the voice of Heaven, I should say. The newspaper is the voice of the authorities, the voice of the brutal power. So, a theologian hailed the rumours as the very voice of God in the modern era. At this, one reptile philosopher retorted: 'It is an insult to the voice of God.' This is much like the age of Jesus,

isn't it!"

The National Assembly session was closed toward the year-end, and the Yushin assemblymen elected by the government authorities finished up their 3-year term of office. But the "popularly-elected" assemblymen of the Republican Party and the New Democratic Party can hold office for another three years. A new list of Yushin assemblymen will be announced around the end of February. Those whose term is up are now eagerly wanting their names to be on the new list. They only have to wait for the special favour Pak Jung Hi will bestow upon them according to the amount of the services they have rendered in defence of the Pak regime in the past three years. The word goes around among the New Democratic Party assemblymen that if another storm of people's resistance breaks this spring, martial law will be proclaimed and the National Assembly be dissolved. Then the so-called opposition assemblymen will lose their occupation and privileged position. And Pak Jung Hi will surely proclaim himself to be the Generalissimo. This is, they say, a rumour spread by the KCIA to evoke instinctive terror among the opposition assemblymen.

Thus, the opposition party has been reduced to one going unscathed within the system of the Pak regime. And as is planned under Pak Jung Hi, the ground for backing him is provided while opposition Kim Yong Sam and ruling Kim Jong Pil are competing with each other to become the second man. The wholesale reshuffle of the Cabinet was carried out on December 19 It is allegedly aimed to create a [illegible]

image of the Administration and follow a gentler diplomacy, acting on the US advice. One signal example of this is the replacement of Foreign Minister Kim Dong Jo who constantly pursued a tough policy toward Japan. Meanwhile, it is said that Pak Jung Hi's surroundings will be further hardened since a few members of the presidential secretariat have become Cabinet ministers.

Topics, however, are centred on Kim Jong Pil, former Prime Minister. Some people say he would command the new Yushin assemblymen to be appointed in March. Others presume that he would chair the National Assembly or the ruling Republican Party. Another rumour says that Pak Jung Hi would concede the presidency of the Republican Party to Kim Jong Pil and make a show of standing aloof from the political parties. Here is the view of my senior:

"They say Pak Jung Hi would gradually fall back and resign his seat to Kim Jong Pil. But I don't think so. Pak is not the sort of a man who would willingly surrender his power to others and take the nominal seat. It will give him unbearable suspense and panic. This is the common feeling of the dictators. He must have figured that Kim, holding the premiership for four years and a half, has built up too much strength of his own. A rumour has it that Li Hu Rak offered advice. Another rumour is circulating that Pak hurriedly ousted Kim Jong Pil, sensing the US plan to place power in Kim's hands and somewhat tone down public sentiments."

Li Hu Rak is a man who tries to keep himself

behind the scenes, not appearing in the limelight as much as possible. He may possibly have a greater ambition But he is a kind of man who, not minding whether he is the second man or not, is ready to say before Pak Jung Hi "I'm at your service." Kim Jong Pil is a man who can't go without giving himself airs. His air always suggests that the day will come for him to become the first man. He also thinks that the prime mover of the 1961 military coup was himself while Pak Jung Hi was merely placed at the head. More, his rashness always brings forth conflicts. My reporter friend told me:

"When Pak Jung Hi's wife was killed, Kim's wife thought she became able at last to play the role of the first lady. So, this woman started attending meetings of high officials and, together with their wives, sent comforts to soldiers at the front. She intended to take over Mrs. Ryuk's work. But this was too much to bear for Pak's daughter. These days she is displaying such an activity that she gives an impression of standing in the very centre of the politics."

Recently alone, there was a persistent rumour to the effect that Pak's daughter did not even turn her face toward Kim Jong Pil whenever he turned up at the Blue House. This started from August 15, 1974, the day of the murder of Ryuk Yong Su. Kim Jong Pil was not seen at the liberation celebration that day although it was held in the presence of Pak Jung Hi. Had Pak Jung Hi been assassinated that day, Kim should have become President. And there came the

news of the activities of Kim's wife following the death of Ryuk Yong Su. Pak's daughter, as we hear, seems to have considerable doubts about all such developments. Even at public meeting places, she would quit her seat with the tearful crimson face, if Kim's wife shows up there. This is a rumour now going around among the wives of high-ranking officials in Seoul.

Anyone trying to live an honest life in this vulgar age should undergo a trial in camera on a rebellious charge.

Upon retiring from his privileged post, Kim Jong Pil called on Kim Yong Sam of the New Democratic Party and visited his old haunt, the Republican Party. I wonder if he, not seeking Pak Jung Hi's opinion, should now intend to return to the post of the Republican Party in order to cooperate with Kim Yong Sam in the capacity of the second man under Pak. But the chairman of the Republican Party is powerless, now that the administration is almighty.

Meanwhile, the telecasts and newspapers highlight the vigorous activities of Pak's daughter. They have now come to officially dub her "the first lady" or insist that she is playing the role as such. This young girl aged 24 has come to tell to all the women of the country the way they should be as south Korean women. She praises Mrs. Ryuk, her mother. She would argue that patience, service and chastity are the very tradition of the south Korean women. She seems to have a mind to become a leader of the people, giving them such instructions. The criticism of this by a middle-aged woman was severe.

"Does she know anything to teach the people? In south Korea there is no manner for the youngsters to teach the elders. Speaking of the tradition of the south Korean women, she is haughty enough to go against that tradition herself. Who is it that stirs up her to do this? Is it for winning the grace of Pak Jung Hi? Does Pak Jung Hi mean to set up a Pak dynasty? He appears to think his family is the royal one. This is really a caricature out of focus."

Enduring such disgusting things, the people may feel as if their hearts were bursting with indignation. Irremovable grievances are pent up in the inmost recess of the hearts of the people though they are succumbing to the increasing suppression with the feeling of servility.

January 5, 1976

TESTIMONIES OF HISTORY

The splitting operations of the KCIA are intensified. It is even driving a wedge between the bereft families of those executed in the People's Revolutionary Party case. The KCIA helps a few persons to open small stores. This is not merely designed to deflect them and stop their mouths. There would be a rumour about their collaboration with the KCIA to set the bereft families asunder. Among the purged professors, too, someone would furnish an information to

the effect that they should be careful of such and such a person who has been confirmed to be a Red. And the alleged Red is informed that he is called a Red by others. The students who had attempted to sabotage the drill of the Student National Defence Corps were arrested, I hear. It is said that in early November the Seoul University students from North Kyongsang Province were apprehended while discussing their antigovernment action programme. It turned out that a spy had sneaked into their ranks and taped everything discussed at their meeting.

Nowadays, the once-dissident people are also wrapped in a subdued mood. There was a heroism when the confidence in victory was strong and the heated air was drifting over the people. But it seems that when the tide is ebbing, people's minds disperse and there appears a prudent cleverness for self-preservation, instead of a courage which defies self-sacrifice.

The KCIA trades on this atmosphere and pushes divisive operations. Having forced silence upon the people at home, it is now trying to stop the overseas voices. It displays vigorous activities for cutting off the ties between those at home and abroad. For one thing, there is a rumour intentionally circulated by the KCIA that the excessively radical action of overseas south Koreans only brings added suppression at home. This implies that the greater clamour abroad will prolong the sufferings of Kim Ji Ha and others. It is designed to make the resistant people at home feel themselves victimized. My senior who is well informed of the KCIA activities, told me as follows:

"Whenever I fall across a foreigner I ask him to voice more loudly support and encouragement to us. Unlike the year before last, at the time of the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students, the foreign public opinion is now keeping silence towards the south Korean situation as if it gets resigned to it. At home too, the Council of Families of the Arrested fails to exhibit such a brisk resistance as seen before. Its chairman at the time is now in prison In the struggle solidarity is breaking between those at home and abroad. So no one can tell when the student demonstrators of Seoul University, Catholic students and Kim Ji Ha will be able to see the bright sun .."

Kim Ji Ha's health must be extremely injured in his solitary cell. It is said that his socks coming out of the cell for washing were nearly holed. It appears that he, banned from taking the air, is practicing exercise hard in his small cell in order to temper his mind and body which tend to grow feeble from prison life. After sending to prison the persons most devoted to justice and to the fatherland in this cold weather, our people are merely looking with folded arms at their declining bodies and minds. And most people outside prison are trying to escape this affliction and getting corrupted This is why young people deride themselves, usually saying that in the course of a protracted factional strife the good people are killed whereas the wicked and cowardices survive. They also deride themselves when they have to raise a queer voice against their will on the drilling grounds of the Student National Defense Corps.

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These days Christian churchmen are passing from mouth to mouth the news of the conference of the World Christian Council which was held in Nairobi last year from the end of November to the beginning of December. It was reportedly attended by over 2,000 representatives from various countries of the world. Out of the 11 south Korean representatives, four failed to attend it because they were denied the exit. At first, I hear, those seven representatives who got the exit permit claimed that they too would not attend the conference if the whole members failed to. Later, however, they left in high spirits receiving a special farewell from the government.

It is said that among so many countries of the world south Korea was the only country that had prohibited the exit of representatives.

They say there was a rumour that those seven representatives had been rather a delegation of the Pak regime than that of the south Korean church. They received hospitality from the south Korean embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, and worked out a tactic together with the ambassador, KCIA members and public information officials there at the dinner party which was arranged every evening. And the south Korean church representatives and embassy staff members held joint meetings every morning and afternoon during coffee breaks at the underground cafeteria of the conference hall. This became a big topic of conversations at the Nairobi conference, I hear.

Staff members of the south Korean embassy to Kenya and KCIA operatives obtained admission tickets for the conference and lent their ears to what was

discussed there. Their tactic was to leave the world uninformed as much as possible of the agony of the south Korean church. They also schemed to make the World Christian Council keep mum about the four representatives who had failed to participate in the conference. They tried to spread the false words that in south Korea the human rights are free from suppression and the freedom of religion is ensured. According to them, no mention should be made of the colleagues, young people, Catholic poet Kim Ji Ha and others who are all jailed. Despite such strategy of theirs, as we hear, the World Christian Council expressed its regret at the absence of those four south Korean representatives and extended solidarity with the suffering people of south Korea. A church leader whispered to me as follows:

"Those fellows who purified themselves as pro-Japanese pastors by bathing in the water of the Hangang River in the past are now dancing again as if their days have come. At the time of Syngman Rhee rule they adapted themselves to it and danced together with those in power. Their way of life is like the original sin, indeed. Or it may be likened to the mental sophistication of a contemporary man. Anyway, these days we come across even such a literature that puts a human construction on Judas who betrayed Jesus. But in the course of revolution the traitor Judas remains the traitor Judas to the letter. He can't be anyone else. It's really sickening to see those who paint treachery as a human behavior"

How is it that a pack of traitors have been able to lord it over everywhere so easily under this system? They are quick enough to turn their coats to live long. One's past may not be asked now if only he opposes communism and backs the Pak regime. South Korea is ruled by the persons of this very kind represented by Pak Jung Hi. The same church leader went on to say:

"Japanese rule came to an end, but antinational elements went unpunished. They quickly clung to the US military government and Syngman Rhee. Thus our post-liberation history has come to inevitably assume an antinational character. In this point, the north was right, even if it had gone somewhat too far."

I should go on with my testimonies of history. My friend who returned home from abroad expressed great thanks to the Japanese magazine *Sekai* for continuously recording the testimonies of south Korea's modern history. Otherwise they will not be put on record at all in south Korea to pass into oblivion. This time judgement must be delivered without fail and the right path be paved for true "national consciousness." At international meetings ceaseless attempts will be made both in speech and action to cover up the reality of south Korea in betrayal of the nation.

Overseas friends! Please tape all their speeches and present them some time before the court of our nation. This is by no means the voice made against any hateful individual. It is made out of the desire to

see south Korea walking the right path, not committing blunders any more.

Here is a simple instance. One of my friends who had been a student under Japanese rule was arrested as a suspect having dangerous thoughts. He could not afford to continue his studies under Japanese rule. Even after liberation he, ungraduated from middle school, had to live a miserable life at the bottom of society. Those who had enjoyed an upper-class life under Japanese rule thanks to their pro-Japanese action could keep that life even after liberation. Their sons were specially favoured because they had graduated from an imperial university. Those who had lived an honest life, those who had sacrificed themselves for the good of the nation, had to carry that same cross as ever after liberation. Such tragedy is continuing still now. Those imprisoned young people suffering from this severe cold must be made free from such tragedy. This is not for their sake alone. It is also to put an end to such society where a righteous person is not recognized as a righteous person.

It is reported that the wind of freedom will break in Spain. A sort of this article may be the happiest news ever carried in papers these days.

In 1972 when the Pak regime proclaimed the "Revitalization Constitution" it extolled Spain to the skies. Hailing it as a country which is devoted to anti-communism and has attained economic development in a stabilized political status, it claimed that south Korea should follow its example. If the dictatorship of this Spain crumbles, it will cast a shadow of irritation over the mind of Pak Jung Hi, too.

Before concluding this letter today I would like to make a few words about the foreign intellectuals who visited our country recently to be entertained by the government. The movement for democracy being somewhat slackened off in south Korea, there are some cases in which even those foreigners seemingly critical of the Pak regime before are seen coming to south Korea. But it must be noted first that they are mostly supported and assisted by the government and the KCIA, even when they come at the invitation of a nongovernmental organization. This work is being undertaken under well-prepared schedules. Foreign guests are shown how the south Korean intellectuals cooperating with the government are playing a realistic, splendid role. These intellectuals would heave a sympathetic sigh before the guests, saying: "Having sent our friends and beloved students to prison, we are feeling a painful wrench at their thought." They, however, will be unable to give any answer if they are asked to give the names of the imprisoned friends on their lips. The people in prison are those who have had nothing to do with the government-patronized intellectuals or those who had always fought against them like a foe.

Now the latter try to reason that really humanitarian as they are, they, gulping down tears, are helplessly giving pains to their friends and students because of the divergence of views in the political dimension. Their aim is to demonstrate that both Pak Jung Hi and his ilks now in power are also suffering from the same mental agony based on humanism. Now they would croak about the threat from the

north. Thinking this is not enough, they would come out with the so-called "political realism," reasoning: What would happen if the needy people are stirred up at this time of economic crisis? But they do not utter any word about the fact that the resistant people demanded the restoration of democracy and cried for the respect of human rights and the liquidation of corruption. They also refrain from touching on why ten- and twenty-year heavy penalties have been inflicted upon those who merely let out that cry. Concerning the foreign intellectual guests, one friend told me as follows:

"Our reptile intellectuals are mere waiters and actors. As a reward for such service, they draw high salaries and obtain authority and privilege. They are allowed to relate anything if it makes for reception. So, foreign guests, befooled by their smart acting, go back home, even without having a look at the wronged people. After returning home, they repay the good hospitalities they have enjoyed. They would narrate the situation of south Korea on the basis of the impression they have derived from those actors. It is wrong to regard the KCIA as a mere, stupid repressive machinery. It keeps even a doctor of philosophy who is back home from the United States. It may also be called a group of excellent hypocrites. This age is devoid of heroes, and only the performers in the guise of heroes are taken for heroes."

The sun rises in south Korea too South Korea has well-furnished tourist hotels as well It also boasts of

its excellent scholars who have returned home from the United States. In south Korea too, the people love and laugh even under such despotic rule. This is because the south Koreans, just like Americans and Japanese, are live human beings. But it would be wrong to think south Korea is admirable because it has all these things. The fact that south Korea is in the dark shadow of the KCIA does not mean that the sun fails to shine there.

A man in power creates an idol and tries to believe it even by himself. With this "faith" he persecutes those who do not worship it. And he is happy over the exercise of such power. He considers those defying that idol to be ones threatening his existence. Given such situation, the most conscientious and creative persons are estranged, finding themselves in despair and become impotent. The people feel intolerably sick at the wicked who rules the roost.

What we really want to ask the overseas friends is that they should not give a hand to the jailers who have converted the whole of this land into a prison of nasty fascism. You paid no tribute to the gesture of Spanish Franco, did you? You did not praise the clever-headed Franco-serving intellectuals as ones devoted to the Spanish people, did you? Such a praise may be like throwing a stone at the maltreated people. We wish you will have the mentality which may help you have a sober look at the hospitality offered by power and the acting put in by it, not being impressed by them. This is what a foreigner said to me after attending a court trial of political offenders.

"I was moved to see the conscience of south Korea still breathing in court. Really it was the confrontation with a great spirit. The voice of the prosecutor demanding an unwarrantable penalty before special court as well as the voice of the judge giving an unreasonable decision were faltering and inaudibly low. In contrast, the voices of the accused were fair and square; they were replete with courage, affection and justice. They were a sermon. And so was the pleading of the defense attorneys. That seemed to be the only place to present a sign, even if slight, of the freedom of speech. Who were really judged there? The hearers in the gallery simply wished those at the bar and the defense attorneys would pour out the feelings of the south Koreans on their behalf. They gathered there to hear the sermon. I keenly felt that without attending such a court trial one could hardly tell of today's south Korea and its people."

Friends abroad, you must see that the voice in that court is the song of the south Koreans awaiting spring.

January 17, 1976

BOLD SWITCHOVER

SAD RECOLLECTION

The petroleum rush seems to have cooled off somehow or other. Rumours are constantly spread by those inquisitive about the political motive hidden behind the much-advertised oil discovery. There had been in the US a warning that the south Korean economy was in crisis. The aim was said to force the Pak regime to reflect on itself by putting pressure on the investments in south Korea. As a countermeasure, Pak Jung Hi himself made public the find of an oil deposit.

The Pak regime intended to sound out the response from foreign capital. But only a few small US enterprises showed interest. Gulf, Shell, Texaco and others paid no heed inventing pretexts. The Japanese capital, they say, remained lukewarm contrary to the greatest expectation of the Pak regime. So, the Pak regime boomed this time the find in south Korea of a uranium deposit amounting to eight million tons. But as far as this ore deposit is concerned, even newspapers presented many hard points to settle. The discovered ore seems to be of little economic value in every respect. More-

over, south Korea has no heading technique, let alone concentration technique. Hence, newspapers could not but write that it would take scores of years to make this treasure available for all its value.

Then came another boom the following day that inexhaustible aluminum resources were found on the southern coast. No doubt, the regime of this land is spreading a rosy illusion in its efforts to alleviate the ever-worsening economic crisis and placate the poverty-stricken common people. The Pak regime is boasting that south Korea is endowed with 287 kinds of underground resources worthy of 34.5 billion dollars. This amounts to saying: Just wait a little longer. Then everything will go well.

Besides such reports, a rumour is widely spread by the KCIA: "Pak Jung Hi has many lives like a cat, hardly to be finished off."

The anti-government force had driven Pak Jung Hi into a fix, but the rout in South Viet Nam saved him. Is there any trace of the anti-government force now? Worse still, they say, Pak Jung Hi has taken so great pains for the country that Heaven takes pity on him and gives him even petroleum. Somehow this sounds like a mode of expression that was in vogue 200 or 300 years ago in the monarchic age. The KCIA knows the power of rumours well. As for some rumours, it condemns their spreaders to seven or eight years' penal servitude. But it gives rise to another rumour of this sort. It may be likened to a new story in a closed country. In this way they drive the popular masses mad, shutting them up from the voice of the world and the trend of history.

Hence no limit of the agony of the sober-minded people. On January 23 a resolute statement was read at a gathering of some 600 Protestant and Catholic churchmen and believers in Wonju, Kangwon Province. They flayed the security-advocating government, asking: "What on earth is the need of seeking after security? What are you going to defend and protect?" They strongly protested against the dictatorship which has been intensified under the name of security. As Christians they also showed their indignation over the fact that "the Bible is regarded as a seditious book and not permitted to be sent in" to poet Kim Ji Ha now in prison.

In face of such situation many intellectuals and young people are undergoing serious meditations in search of something, a new switchover.

Not only that. They try to reflect on the path traversed hitherto by the resistance force.

It is also necessary to comment on the fight waged against the Pak regime since 1973. This fight hinged a secret hope on world public opinion. Especially, it was hoped that big countries would put pressure on the Pak regime this way or that, displaying some moral sense. But the world is keeping silence even when the whole country has been reduced to a prison and many lives are being put to a cruel torture. The callous political realism is not only allowing the Pak regime to turn the whole country into barracks and prison but backing it up. It was an idle dream to think that the system of the Pak regime would be relaxed by world public opinion. The critical action performed hitherto in the form of demonstrations and statements was a

"silly act" that still counted on man's good intentions. But it might be a "brave act" to an onlooker who would have clapped his hands at it with glee. Yet didn't it only exhaust the strength of our people after all, paying heed only to the day-to-day political affairs? They have started to reflect on this past.

Will they develop a new thought and action through the self-examination of their past revolutionary act? I would like to abstain from a hasty conclusion now. At least such self-examination is a manifestation of the revolutionary consciousness which retains optimism even in numerous setbacks.

February 5, 1976

THREE REPORTS

First of all, I should report about the latest situation of the expelled pressmen. According to a Christmas message last year, 33 reporters ousted from *Choson Ilbo* are still well. The message expressed thanks to those who "encouraged them to keep faith and valour even in pains." The law suit for the "repeal of the unjust dismissal" is still pending. Among 33 reporters 20 managed to get other jobs. They say unanimously:

"Ringing out the year of pains and emotions we renew our courage. Our claims will remain in the New Year, too. We wish the New Year will be a year blessed by freedom and justice."

On December 31 last, two *Tonga Ilbo* reporters Li

Bu Yong and Song Yu Bo who had fought for freedom of speech were sentenced to eight and four years' penal servitude at the first trial. This trial too assumed a strong political nature as a revenge on the two men who had fought for freedom of speech. The letter of complaints against the two was rewritten time and again during the trial. The warrant of their arrest was that they had kept a foreign news report on the political contribution of the Gulf Oil Company. But if they were tried on this charge, the report might have spread to more people, causing a trouble. Thus the second charge made against them was that they had kept and distributed copies of a US church statement protesting against the Pak regime's suppression of human rights. But this too would have complicated the matter if it came to the knowledge of the US church. So, they were now accused of having distributed a statement of the Catholic students against Emergency Decree No. 9 among foreign reporters in May last year. The foreign reporters, however, denied this. After all, their case has been made a Red one by a shopworn method. As seen above, the decision was made in advance and the proceedings were adapted to it. This is a way of trial in this country.

The two men were judged on the charge of involving in the case of "Chonguhoe", a "Left" organization. And the reason is that one of their old fellow students made a confession. This fellow student became insane one year ago and delivered himself to the KCIA. Thus the two reporters came to receive a severe punishment by the testimony of that mattoid. In court, however, he asserted that he had been tortured into confession.

Attorney's pleading makes the hearers irritated. Lawyers were benned from examining the written judgement. So they had no choice but to plead the case on reference to the bill of accusation. In this way, the two reporters were sentenced to heavy penal servitude on the false charge of being Communists, which means death under this society. Much the same may be mentioned of those including 21 south Korean students in Japan who were allegedly involved in a spy incident. In their case, even the written indictment was not delivered to the defence attorney. It was said that one of the defendants had stayed in the north for over two months and his aim in the south was to penetrate into the Christian force. A Christian who had once met this defendant muttered to himself that everything was enigmatic these days. He told me another "wild rumour."

"Are we such Christians as can be instigated by the south Korean students from Japan? As south Koreans in Japan are so often charged with their involvement in Red cases, we are suffering from an allergy for them. The government seems to have an unavoidable reason to cook up Red spy cases without letup. More than 10 students who had once been imprisoned in connection with the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students were imprisoned again these days. It appears they didn't remain idle even after release from prison. It will soon be made public as a big Red case at home."

Thirty persons or so are expected to be announced as offenders in this case. Some were arrested and tortured. It is said that Seoul Medical College students, too, will be involved in this case. This will mean a pre-

liminary roundup against an antigovernment students movement which may break out this spring.

What on earth do they mean by removing so many fine young people? No attorney would run the risk of defending such political offenders. Pleading often incurs a personal danger. The attorneys are deprived of a chance to undertake other lucrative cases. Heavy taxes are laid upon them. So they say with a sigh: "Now we are unable to speak the truth either in private talks or in court." Under the present situation it will be hard for conscientious organizations abroad even to inquire into a matter concerning tortures. Even if one is tortured he declines to expose it. If he tries to, it will be hard to find an interpreter for foreigners. Isn't it that all hues of vices are shrouded in oblivion on account of fear?

I should close this letter with another report. This is a story about the people driven out of a slum in Tongbukrimun-dong, Seoul. When their board houses were forcibly removed, they pitched tents there. They wanted to stay there even this winter alone. However, their tents are pulled down a dozen of times by the evacuation team of the district office. After much imploration they were allowed to pitch two field tents at a secluded place southeast of Seoul.

The two tents were to house 16 families. But one family was chased out as it turned out to be a KCIA agent. From that time the tented people had to undergo a severe trial. But their crushing misfortunes came because a certain Christian agency helped them, feeling sorry for them who were unable to get jobs in cold winter. Every Sunday they would gather in one tent and hold a meeting as if it were their way to repay that

favour. It was named a *sarangbang* (parlor) church. More than 100 paupers thronged. They also attended the Thursday prayer meeting to offer a prayer for the good of the arrested. Let me allow to quote a passage of their written petition entitled, "an appeal of the evacuated and assailed *sarangbang* church."

"...Out of thanks, we dwellers here set up a tent church, named it a *sarangbang* church of the poor and held divine services. Soon police and government officials came and began to torment us. Two detectives are watching us without leaving the place even a moment. Fifty or sixty soldiers in active service came and forced us to evacuate our church. One major shouted: 'On account of you I may get the bucket. But I can't blast my 30-year-long army career. I'll evacuate you at all costs.' One captain took down the Cross, trampled it under foot and threw it over the tent.... At last 20 housebreakers and 10-odd detectives broke into the tent and evacuated the church.... Furnitures and vessels were destroyed and the tent loaded on a truck. *Ondol*-floor stones were dug up with an iron bar. Purchased building materials were smashed to bits.... A child of a dweller held on to the truck of the evacuation team, begging them to leave the tent behind He was mercilessly pushed off the running truck. Now he is confined to bed and groaning..."

The child was carried to a hospital as soon as he fell from the truck. But a harsh word came from the KCIA that if the hospital took in that child it would not go with impunity. Thus the child was forced to leave the hospital that day and is now groaning in pain. Telling

me about this story, an elder heaved a deep sigh and went on:

"I recall what had happened at the time of the March First Independence Movement in 1919. A physician of our town, unable to stand the groans of the wounded coming at night from a heap of corpses, kicked out of his bed and carried the wounded to his home to give a cure. For this reason, he was taken off to the Japanese gendarmerie and tortured to death. All brutal powers are same, be it foreign or Korean. They threatened a hospital not to treat that child, didn't they?"

The next Sunday, on February 1, the *sarangbang* church had to offer a prayer outside in the cold. It prayed: "Even deprived of the tent pitched with difficulty after being evacuated by the authority, we are offering a prayer in this field.... Please protect us until the day of victory.... Give us strength and courage." Can the spirit unyielding to maltreatment be so staunch and perseverant? They might have little to lose in their fight. Probably they, too, could not make themselves servile before humiliation. Under the Pak regime anyone, a man of no importance included, becomes the target of oppression if he loathes cowardice and gropes for something as a human being. Under such circumstances, it can be safely said that, coward silence is hanging over the mountains and rivers of this country.

February 5, 1976

THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR

The news of the Lockheed scandal reached south Korea too. Hearing that the dark side of the Japanese policy was associated with it, we felt a strong urge to cry, "You've got at last what you have gone for."

When the names of Kodama and Osano came out, we had to hiss: "So, it was them beyond mistake." As far as Mr. Kodama was concerned, there came a ceaseless critical voice of intellectuals—why the Pak regime should have mixed with such a person as Kodama. Some said it must be because Pak Jung Hi had come from the Manchukuo army (Japan's puppet government army in old China—*Tr*). Mr. Kodama had also a close connection with an influential newspaper manager of south Korea. He excited suspicion: "What he is up to in the world?"

It is said that Mr. Osano is associated with the development of the tourist resort in Cheju-do Island. Most of this big island of south Korea is in their hands. A rumour says that the former Prime Minister of Japan has a finger in the pie. A reporter friend whispered in my ear that the scandal had brought to light in Japan a tie-up between Mr. Osano and the Korean Air Lines (KAL). According to him, Osano holds 10 per cent of the KAL stocks. The south Korean papers keep silence all about it. But the rumour is afloat. Hearing it, a friend of mine cried:

"The word that Osano is holding KAL stocks has been regarded so far as a "wild rumour." But it's telling the truth now. The figure must go beyond 10 per cent. It may be 10 per cent in form, but in reality the right of management will be largely in his hands. This is an open secret to all south Korean enterprises, isn't it? The same may be said of the Japanese who are owning the land of south Korea under the name of south Koreans in Japan. This is the very trick they played with the Lockheed."

Simply terrible. We might say the whole of the Pak regime is subsisting on big international plots, on the plots of the multi-national enterprises. A south Korean in Japan, Kodama's subordinate, frequented south Korea, and he was received every time by Pak Jung Hi's escort car and body guards. What is there behind the scene? My friend, a journalist, said south Korea was now in a state where it had to import even bananas from Taiwan and other places through the medium of Japanese firms. Another friend told me what he had witnessed:

"In order to camouflage the 'ROK'-Japan adhesion the Pak regime has so far worked hard to mislead public opinion at home and abroad. They considered that their incongruous anticommunist theory and money would solve the whole problem. You may be sure that every pro-'ROK' nation has been bought over by this policy of the Pak regime. The same are those who write articles in favour of the Pak regime. They, however, seem to be not so effective these days, for the Japanese embassy in Seoul has come forward. This may

be a posture taken by the Japanese Foreign Ministry, the Japanese government authority. The Japanese embassy picks out some south Koreans and sends them to Japan in order to exert influence on the Japanese public opinion. At times its staff members themselves go to Japan, taking these agents along. Meanwhile, it invites Japanese critics to Seoul on its own initiative. In Seoul it asks universities and newspaper offices to help these critics exert influence. Then, back to Japan, they try to create pro-south Korean sentiments and remove the bad image of Japan-'ROK' adhesion. In this way, Japan has penetrated into south Korea in the political sphere too. It is said that the Japanese embassy is planning to invite a group of socialist Dietmen of Japan."

What a pity! The Lockheed scandal is now the symbol of an atmosphere brooding over the whole of non-communist world. If the relation between Japan and south Korea is disclosed in this connection the peoples of the two countries will be struck dumb. The two governments are accommodating each other with political funds through the good offices of the Japanese enterprises, I hear.

As to the Lockheed affairs, a US newspaper wrote that "too many things collide with the US diplomacy itself." Does the scandal really collide with the US diplomacy? Hasn't the US diplomacy itself degenerated into something little different from the Lockheed scandal? Isn't it a kind of operation conducted by the USCIA? Haven't the US enterprise, the USCIA and diplomacy all followed one and the same course?

It was around the time the presidential election for 1967 was coming to a close that a man with close con-

tacts with the USCIA broke a secret which I still remember.

"This is a totally fraudulent election directed by the USCIA. At the time of the 1963 election a ballot-counting was put off in Kyongsang Province from where Pak Jung Hi hailed. The object was to show nearly equal polling scores in other areas and make Kyongsang Province destroy the balance, all for plausibility's sake. But in 1967 Kyongsang Province was the first to count the votes. This was to produce the overwhelming number of votes from the start, throwing others into utter despair. In this way the USCIA and the Pak regime raised a cry of victory. The election is over and its projectors, the USCIA and the KCIA, are now on a recreation tour of Southeast Asia. The politics of south Korea has been stage-managed by the USCIA ever since liberation. This is the US diplomacy."

Will the US conscience which has exposed the Lockheed scandal really follow the path of remedying all these injustices of the United States? Or is it no more than the last sign of the declining US spirit or of the democracy of the Western world? Gloomy thoughts gripped me. How could we carve out our fate in such darkness?

When President Ford announced that the United States would stop its free military aid to south Korea, it gave a great shock to the south Korean people, indeed. With the election ahead Ford must have not wanted a dispute with US Congress over the south Korean issue. In answer to this announcement Pak Jung Hi declared: "We've expected it." "Our national defence depends on us after all." "We have confidence in de-

fence." Ford declined to cut the same figure as that of the Pak regime by rendering aid to it.

However, the Pak regime for its part declared that it would further intensify its offensive this year through "persuasive anti-communist propaganda" and with money. In January a "pursuasion" group made a tour of the United States. It is said that this kind of tours will continue. It is also said that the Pak regime will intensify its diplomatic activity towards US Congress. What would happen if it does not change its course with the Lockheed scandal as an occasion but tries to camouflage it in a more intellectual manner? Will this year really become a year of despair?

February 5, 1976

MEASURE AGAINST SPRING

A rumour said that 40 important officials were expelled from the Foreign Ministry. This is a way to shift the responsibility of failure onto the subordinates. After throwing his ugly image on the international arena by himself, Pak Jung Hi is calling his ministers and other officials to account for it.

In south Korea spring is often called a cruel season. It is a sense derived not from the beautiful nature but from the foul politics. Spring is a political season for south Koreans. Great mass resistances took place in

ple by force, bringing on public censure. I remember this happened in Chunchon, Kangwon Province, during a speaking tour. Afraid of public opinion, one close attendant pulled in his horns, suggesting that it would be better to refrain from forcible mobilization. At this Pak Jung Hi retorted: 'Do you think then people will come of their own accord?' He knows better than anyone else that almost all people are critical of him. He hates and despises these people. So he thinks he should rake up every means and attack the people like a foe. This is the root of his fascism."

The Pak regime will further intensify its repressive means for a spring offensive and defensive battle. These days the campuses are in a mess due to the examination for the reappointment of professors at all public and private universities and colleges of the country. Although each university is in principle authorized to examine its professors, the Ministry of Education informs it beforehand of the names of professors to be purged. However, every decision is made to appear the decision of the university authority. The directives of the Ministry of Education and the KCIA are conveyed verbally not to leave any evidence. This practice is often followed in illicit election.

The reappointment programme is said to be wound up within February before the beginning of the new school term from March, and professors are in trepidation. The word is out that a certain university is going to improve the occasion to remove those professors who go against the grain with the management. There must be some managers who are happy over their ab-

solute right to appoint professors.

Thoroughgoing measures are being taken against the students as well. They say the year 1976 will be made a "year of educational revitalization" and everything be reformed at schools of all levels from primary school to university under the "anti-communist" slogan. Civic textbooks will undergo a change. It must be aimed at eradicating such a contradiction as studying democracy within school while living in the undemocratic reality of "Yushin" outside school. The national ethics course will be newly set up within the Graduate School to train 1,000 teachers.

Needless to say, the Student National Defence Corps which was suddenly organized last fall will keep up its activity. Many amusing scenes occurred at year-end reviews of the Student National Defence Corps. At Seoul University the students boycotted the review and broke up, chanting: "We're advocates of justice. We'll rather choose death in a standing posture than live on bended knees." So, it is supposed that a cruel season will be forced upon the students this year, this spring in particular, to get them "absorbed in their studies." Many officers on the active list will be sent to universities and higher schools to give camp training and organize forced marches. The Ministry of Education is said to hold a martial art contest at 1,460 schools. This is the very education for moral armament. My friend, a professor remarked:

"It's a cruel spring They insist that the students should be shackled to the government slogan from primary school days from now on, though belatedly. This is 'deepened Yushin education.' They'll drive the stu-

dents hard. They even put out a book entitled "Theory of Yushin Politics" to step up the theorization of the Pak regime-style fascism. It appears that the Minister of Education and others have been to Taiwan to learn the way of political education given there by the fascist elements. Thus they'll give no chance of flare-up this spring. Although the young ones show a big stir, I'm afraid it should be hard to arouse the people to resistance who still entertain some vague hope at the news of petroleum and uranium finds. Every one is now too exhausted. They are so driven hard they can hardly have a "latitude of mind."

He said that the Pak regime would kick up a row over communist aggression this autumn when a confusion might be created in the United States because of election. A communist spy case is now in the making at home to bully the young people. Even those students who should have been released after arrest underwent severe torture. My friend inclined his head, saying: "What pretext and slogan will the Pak regime invent to continue to fool and repress the people when the 'petroleum rush' falls and the elections come to [illegible] in the United States and Japan?" But at that tim[illegible]k Jung Hi will display his wicked intelligence [illegible] his sword.

We both stressed the need not to give [illegible] under any adversity but keep up optimism ar[illegible] to find out possibility for the future. Educa[illegible] up people's insanity instead of developing [illegible] ing power. The unbending faith that help[illegible] reasoning power must be far more pre[illegible]

emotional, whimsical wrath. On its basis, we think, our strategy must undergo a bold switchover.

February 5, 1976

THE MONARCHIC AGE

A CHARITABLE PERSON

This is the 57th anniversary of the March First Independence Movement. But ours is a strange age. In south Korea it is banned to splash the Lockheed scandal. The Pak regime thinks it wrong to expose the irregularities committed by those in power in any countries. It also thinks that such a practice would work on the south Korean people. More particularly, it may be probably because those Japanese involved in the Lockheed scandal are what the Pak regime calls "friends of south Korea." Internationally an underhand move is being made toward cooperation in tormenting the people. This may be what is called a devil.

As is clear from the Lockheed scandal, the world seems to be rolling and pitching. The conference of non-aligned countries will open again this summer in Sri Lanka. A big wave will hit south Korea again.

The scalpel of criticism seems to have been applied to the KCIA bribery tactics at last in the United States. It appears a KCIA woman agent, a secretary who attained access to US Congress, has caused pub-

lic discussion. The story has floated into our country. It seems the tactics of buying over statesmen and reporters has come to a deadlock. The reason is that espionage was conducted by way of lending hand to outcasts in that friendly nation. With cajolery and whipping the Pak regime secured silence for "national unity" at home. It applied bribery abroad. But this is the time of "tearing off masks," as can be seen from the Lockheed case. So the Pak regime's bribery tactics too may have run against a snag. It has worked at home, but seems to be ineffective abroad.

Hence the internal silence is needed to stop this wave as well. The Pak regime insists that it can in no way desist from stopping the mouths of the people under "Emergency Decree No. 9" by which a mere utterance of the word "democracy" incurs severe punishment. This country looks quiet. The reason is that even if the Gulf Oil's contribution of $4 million to the Pak regime arouses a big external stir, its wave fails to reach south Korea. Even if the Lockheed scandal is brought to light, no one is allowed to utter the name of Kodama or Osano. Fake quietness. No one dares to speak his mind, braving imprisonment. Shame! But, at heart they wish someone would cry loudly. A mean spirit!

Mysterious uneasiness is embedded in the minds of the south Korean people. The world is moving, and this is the truth. The people feel that the simulated tranquility and national isolation won't do. Because they know that the present policy of the Pak regime is sure to lead to a catastrophic situation. The Pak regime tries to have a narrow escape by frantically

fanning this feeling of the people and creating an illusion among them. One friend murmured:

"You may remember what happened at the time of the outbreak of war on June 25. They blared that the armed force of the south surpassed that of the north and that once the northward expedition started they would take breakfast in Seoul, lunch in Pyongyang and supper in Sinuiju. At that time the United States, too, praised the army of the south as the best in Asia. But what sorry figures they cut when the war broke out. That was a regime prolonging its life by forcing fantasy upon the people. The Pak regime is now behaving itself like a self-confident power. But the people know that it has no confidence at all. The Pak regime itself is on tenterhooks. Under the regime removed from reality what will become of the people?"

Pak Jung Hi's confidence may be likened to the fantasy of willful child who thinks it can take anything it likes. The two or three happenings of these days will suffice to prove that his words are at once "law," "construction" and "creation."

Several days ago, it is said, Pak Jung Hi called together the leaders of the Association of Reservists and yelled: "Hundreds of thousands of young fellows shed blood during the Korean war, didn't they? Erect a monument in their memory." Thus the construction of this monument started. On his directive, something is built or destroyed.

A strange era produces strange things. Several well-known nongovernmental universities decided upon disqualification of those "crippled" who passed

the written entrance examination. They are thirteen students who limp a little in the legs. They carried on a hunger strike against the measure. This came to the knowledge of Pak Jung Hi, and an order came from him to "admit them additionally" in excess of the number fixed for the year, together with the kind word: "They are unfortunate enough to be handicapped physically. How is it possible to block even their road of studies?"

In south Korea the number limit for enrollment is controlled by the Ministry of Education. The curtailment of campus population is one of the measures of the Pak regime for maintaining public peace. The university diploma is invalid without bachelor's certificate issued by the Ministry of Education. Under such strict system the "crippled" were specially favoured to continue their studies, two or three at each university. The thirteen students and their parents were so happy that they shed tears, hugging each other. How can we explain this contrast between the cruelty of the university authorities and such mercy? This charity may have a deep political meaning in the cruel age as today. Pak Jung Hi might have swollen up at the thought that he too has such benevolence.

This is something like a story in the monarchic age. Pak Jung Hi may be feeling himself to be a feudal dynast, and this mood may be growing in his mind. There was a rumour to this effect already in the early days of the Pak regime. When he heard that a certain person in opposition severely criticized his regime, Pak Jung Hi hissed· "In the old days he would not have been spared." He must have thought of the age

of the Li Dynasty. The criticism of the king had been condemned as "high treason" in those days.

Under such monarch many petty monarchs come forth. The local government officials of the Li Dynasty were such. There is a new monarchic story about a local government official, which is known to everybody. He won fame as a most ambitious man. He was once even called a bulldozer mayor.

He cut a conspicuous figure for the first time as a local mayor. As a one-time military man, he went about the suburbs on horseback from early morning, pointing here and there with his baton, saying: "This place must be developed." Upon his order, his attendants bought up the land then and there and mobilized bulldozers for development with the municipal funds. He rose even to the post of a Cabinet minister for such meritorious service, only to fall soon. One day Pak Jung Hi happened to remember him and asked how he was getting along. But he was away on emigration to the United States. Thereupon he was ordered home by offended Pak Jung Hi who condemned him as an "ungrateful wretch." This occasioned the prohibition of the emigration of high officials. This is a rumour now current in Seoul. It is a true story about the development encouraged by the Pak regime.

Because of this monarchic mentality as well as the ex-serviceman's mentality which holds sway over the Pak regime, the officials have become ones who are no better than executors in the age of an absolute monarch. They have only to carry out orders tacitly and tactfully. And with their conscience paralyzed,

they pursue only their personal interests, their eyes closed to the sufferings of the people and injustice.

Even under such circumstances, can I, like a poet, sing: "What is to come is sure to come. What is to rot will rot of itself despite happy tidings"? Spring will come. The azalea will tinge the mountains with a reddish hue soon. *Will then the corruptible, too, rot* away to disappear from the land of south Korea? Will then the power and despotism of that feudal monarchic sovereign vanish? One friend whispered in my ear:

"There may be a case when a proud flesh comes forth from a boil or when a spirit haunts like a ghost. It has been so, hasn't it? The present power is sure to fall. But how can we prevent those insolent partakers in the present despotic regime from changing their clothes and reappearing on the scene? Their history is more terrible than the present power."

March 1, 1976

THE PURGEES

Yesterday's paper reported that of 10,917 professors of 98 colleges and universities across the country some 366 were omitted from reappointment. But, according to a more reliable source, the "omitted professors" number above 500. In anticipation of their removal, not a few professors had tendered their re-

signations after consultation with the university authorities.

The reappointment is said to have been carried on after the reexamination of the professors, those of the nongovernment universities included. By what rule in the world has the political power done it? The government doesn't say it has come to a close with this. It says it is still under way. The new school term starts from early March. But reappointment is announced only now. And yet it is reportedly continuing. This is how things are going even at the end of February when the professors are too uneasy to prepare for the new school year. No doubt, this is because political consideration takes precedence of education. Having driven out a large number of conscientious professors and students, the Pak regime may feel relieved and think they could sleep in peace this spring.

The Ministry of Education announced the reexamination rules which define as failures those professors who have made no actual results, incompetent ones, those who hold other offices concurrently, those who have failed to give many lectures, because of foreign tour and for other reasons, and those who are not giving lectures without notice. But "wild rumours" are rife. Even newspapers report that "it seems they also include many of those professors who have caused a trouble through their external activities and, in case of nongovernment universities, those professors who are on bad terms with the management." It is the government that gives chucks. And no one is allowed to ask the reason for his dismissal. Moreover, no one knows when he will be fired until the very day of notifica-

tion. Here too prevails something like the issue of a king's order.

The government disinclines to reveal the details of these many "omitted professors." It doesn't give even the name of a university and the number of its purgees. In a word, it doesn't want to make public the names of anti-government "political professors." The Pak regime has more than once expelled university professors since 1964. They were tagged "problematical professors" in 1964 and "political professors" in 1965. But never before have so many professors been fired as this time under the name of an "omitted professor."

This is partly due to the further hardened structure of the Pak regime. But the point is that there is a growing uneasiness about the fact that those to be sacked are swelling, in spite of the present wholesale purge. The purgees have to go through hardships. The remaining professors, though relieved from immediate worry, have to suffer guilty conscience as well. They feel shame at their enervation before such an unheard-of injustice. Formerly, if one showed marked repentance he stood a chance of reinstalment. But now even a transfer to another university is not allowed, let alone reinstalment.

Seditious elements multiply under an absolute monarch. How should we help the dismissed? We should support them as the unemployed and at the same time, help them fight with the unbroken faith. The more people are expelled, the further their resistance power should grow. Thus the authorities should be forced to hesitate in expulsion. But I wonder how

many people, out of those over five hundred persons, have been dismissed for such a faith and are resolved to fight in defence of that faith, although all of them are the victims of the brutal Pak regime.

I still don't know all about the "omitted professors" who are conspicuously critical of the government. Professors with Christian connections seem to predominate. Among them are those who held prayer meetings for the arrested students at the time of the incident of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students in 1974. Many secrets and sad stories are behind this purge. The KCIA is said to have checked up every lecture of the universities, not to speak of address and discourse.

This time the first criterion for the reappointment of university professors was their political tendency. Concurrent office or lack of ability was reportedly called in question. But the government has nothing to do with such a matter. It is only a pretence for expelling the professors who fall below the first criterion. The university management added to them those who were not in with the university authorities or council. There were, of course, not a few people over whom some criteria came.

"Rumours" are also current with regard to the fact that the university authorities, welcoming this opportunity provided by the government, purged critical professors. The purge list notified by the KCIA was classified into A and B groups. The A group comprised those who should be purged regardless of the intention of the university authorities. The B group included the professors whose purge could admit of

reconsideration through the good offices of the university authorities. In this case, one may be saved if his university president vouches for his identity. One professor told me the inside story of the purge as *follows:*

"In case of those in the A group their requests to meet the president for supplication were refused. A certain professor begged a favor of reappointment because his wife was confined to bed. But the result was an omission The management intends to remove annoying fellows at this juncture. In this respect the management has a thread of connection with the Pak regime."

This friend told, as an example, about the newspaper offices including *Tonga Ilbo* At first, they offered resistance to the pressure of the authorities. But they took the course of cooperation in face of the increasing pressure. Then they, like the political power, committed crimes to invite public censure And like the political power they began to fear the change of system and public censure. The authorities take the opportunity to bestow a special favour on the enterprises. This brings them closer to power to share fate with it. When reporters were expelled first they could not understand the cruel treatment they received from their newspaper offices. Because they had entertained a sweet illusion that their offices would help them when they were in distress. But now they are awakened and think:

"If the Pak regime is toppled that newspaper office may put on an air of victimized fighter and declare haughtily that the world is ours now since we enjoy

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"If the Pak regime is toppled that newspaper office may put on an air of victimized fighter and declare haughtily that the world is ours now since we enjoy

freedom of speech. What should we do with a system that permits such a practice? What kind of counter-force should be formed in case this system continues? The Pak regime's collapse should not lead to a mere change of the system by the corrupted. We may have to have our own papers."

The purgees should not be mäde to shrink back. They should become a main pillar in reconstruction in the future. We must create a history in which the misfortune of purge is turned into a blessing. A certain senior told me proudly:



"If we issue a newspaper together with them an excellent one will come out. Our colleagues who share the same idea with us and still remain in the office will hurry over to us. The newspaper will soon become a great one thanks to the image of their struggle imprinted on the people's minds. That is another reason why the newspaper office in collusion with the political power is now tormenting the reporters. But, we must form such power, come what may. Only by forming a good, active power can we remove evils. They are great men. Their eyes glisten even in that agony. They rather encourage me who am apt to be disheartened. For all their hard lot, they have so much power in reserve."

Though they find it hard to take three meals a day, they cheer up their seniors who are rather in better conditions. When advertisement for employment in a company appears they often go in for the examination for service. They always attain full marks in examination, but they are not employed. If they want to

open a chophouse on the roadside, it is not permitted. Now they have started a suit against dismissal. They say it is intended for leaving testimony in history, rather than for victory. The examination for employment in *Tonga* is said to have been fairly rigorous particularly in case of the oral test in which one's ideological trends and social backgrounds are heard.

Here is one more story about the newspaper offices including *Tonga*. Recently the Pak regime urges every enterprise to open its shares to the public. This would give it a chance to control the shares of the newspaper offices, too. Most of the *Tonga* shares, it is said, have been cornered in by the Trade Association. The authorities scheme to hold full powers over *Tonga* behind the scene, leaving the management as it is to misuse the image this paper throws on the people. If that scheme is successful, *Tonga Ilbo* will have come to share fate with the Pak regime in management as well. Otherwise it cannot survive.

I should return to the story of the "omitted professors." I hear there are managers who improve the opportunity of reappointment of university professors to purge undesirable professors, while some university authorities have gone one step further. A certain president is bent on trumping up far more "political professors" than those in the list from the KCIA or the Ministry of Education. His aim is to show his fidelity, retire from his troublesome and uninfluential presidentship and enter the government service. Can't it be said that this very age produces a servile man of this sort?

But we can't say there is no pretty story at all. It

happened at a university. Its president of strong confidence and faith refused to purge a professor listed in the A group. Claiming that this professor was a pillar of the university, the president offered resistance. He said he was fully ready to be purged himself for the professor's sake. The KCIA could not expel the president in fear of public opinion. But all feel blue, wondering how long such a faith would last.

Today, before putting down my pen, I am going to tell a hidden story of the political world which is now current. Various rumours are still flying about the resignation of the Kim Jong Pil Cabinet in the fall of last year. It is said that the trick of ex-KCIA director Li Hu Rak worked much on that resignation. Kim Jong Pil called on the Army or spoke before local members of the National Conference for Unification. The NCU meets once every six years by local unit. Its Chairman being the President, it elects president for itself.

The NCU is under the exclusive command of the KCIA. Yet Kim Jong Pil talked with its members, and this was reported to Pak Jung Hi through Li Hu Rak to put him on the alert. And the decisive moment came when Kim Jong Pil submitted a recommendation list of the so-called Revitalization National Assembly members to be appointed by the President. Pak Jung Hi came to a definite decision as he saw that most of the names on the list were from Kim Jong Pil's faction.

But it can hardly be said that the seesaw game between Li Hu Rak and Kim Jong Pil, which has been going on ever since Pak Jung Hi came to power, has ended with this. The KCIA wishes to have an influen-

tial director like Li Hu Rak to exercise more influence on Pak Jung Hi. On the other hand, the Kim Jong Pil faction is said to have started a counterattack against Li Hu Rak, alleging that Li did not report to Pak Jung Hi everything about the talks he had in the north during his visit to it in 1972 and that he had had a secret promise with the north. People say this may be true, for Li was reported to have given the north a promise on the withdrawal of the US army at that time. The Pak regime tried to reach an agreement with the north at any cost at the time for its prolonged power. It gave its word to suit the occasion and broke it soon with impunity. This is the posture the Pak regime assumes.

March 1, 1976

DECLARATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SALVATION

"Today we mark the 57th anniversary of the March First Independence Movement. Still ringing in our ears is the cry of this nation, the cry for sovereignty and independence, that resounded all over the world on March 1, 1919. Keeping silence would mean burying the blood shed by our forerunners for national salvation. This would be a sin. So, we have pooled our will and hereby announce this Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation to all at home and abroad."

This is the first passage of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation. Many Japanese may know well that this declaration was proclaimed by 12 leading democrats on the night of the anniversary of the historic March First Independence Movement. It was not until the 11th that south Korean papers merely reported about the arrest of those associated with that declaration. Needless to say, its content is kept unknown to the ordinary south Koreans.

The declaration has three subtitles: "This Country Should Stand on Democracy;" "The Plan and Posture for the Establishment of a State on the Basis of the Economy Should Undergo Radical Re-examination"; and "National Reunification Is the Supreme Task of This Nation." Democracy should come "from the people" before it serves "for the people." Otherwise, "command and submission" will prevail. The Pak regime responsible for economic bankruptcy ought to resign. But "if it lacks humble courage to do so, it must sincerely re-examine its plan for the establishment of a state on the basis of the economy." The declaration demanded thus and added: "The authority should frankly admit its misrule instead of trying to justify it." Concerning the problem of "national reunification," the declaration asked how the authority was going to make up the economic potential being consumed for the upkeep of the one-million-strong armies in the north and the south. "What is more unbearable," it said, "is the destructive waste of our people's intelligence and originality that ought to be enlisted in the creation of our culture."

A new switchover alone is the way for us to parti-

cipate in the creation of our national history. It is the way to raise again in Asia the torches of the March First Independence Movement and April 19 Revolution. And this way alone will lead to a proud life in the international community provided with unity, justice and human rights. This is the way to dispelling the present feelings of international isolation. The declaration closed with, "Long live democracy!"

The declaration was read out at the Myongdong Cathedral before 700 believers who were having their prayer meeting in commemoration of the March First Independence Movement. A strong whirlwind has been raging ever since. What on earth is wrong with this declaration? Why should the authority be so enraged by this frank, mild statement? I remember what my senior told me on the morning of March 1, that something might happen that day. The declaration must have been made under the joint signature of many people. But it seems that the number was cut down to minimize the victims.

There has risen a wave of arrest and imprisonment. On March 2 wives of the signers were first walked off. Unknown housewives were found among them. Even the son of a victim was arrested. What is the reason? The word went around that it is because the KCIA thinks the Christian wives may be the next to rise up and that it is to give the victims the greatest possible sufferings and increase the effect of intimidation by applying pressure on their families. The implication practice of the monarchic age still prevails.

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p.m. on the 10th, charging it with a "plot to overthrow the government." But, oddly enough, an account of this case was given in newspapers on the 12th and on their third pages at that. That was the opening day of the powerless National Assembly whose fixed term of session is 12 days and whose mission is to merely affix its rubber seal. It seems that something like a statement had to be made since the opposition parties under the ever-present threat of the KCIA had decided to deal with the "case of the March First Declaration." Let me quote the third paragraph of the seven-paragraph statement issued by the above procurator's office.

"At last they have gone so far as to hurl abuses at and hatch plots against the Republic of Korea in an attempt to achieve their purpose of unconstitutional agitation for the overthrow of the government with the backing of the outside force. But when it was more and more obvious with the lapse of time that their illegal agitation was powerless to hoodwink most of people who were well aware of the importance of prolonged state security at the present juncture and that they would be unable to receive any support from the people in the future, they became impatient and concluded that they could no longer hold off their plan. Thus, with Kim Dae Jung, Mun Dong Hwan and Ham Se Ung as the prime movers and Yun Bo Son, Chong Il Hyong, Ham Sok Hon and others as the sympathizers, they schemed to topple the government by agitating the people this spring."

On this charge they detained eleven opposition-

ists and took nine into "house" custody. Among them are ex-President Yun Bo Son, Mr. Ham Sok Hon known as the voice of conscience from the opposition parties, and Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the former presidential candidate, who has been known as the only political possibility. There are also Mr. Chong Il Hyong, an elder opposition statesman, who has presented a constant threat to the Pak regime, and his wife Mrs. Li Tae Yong, the first woman lawyer of south Korea, who once worked as dean of the Law Department of the Rihwa Women's University. They also include six able pastors, eight priests, one professor, and the chairman of the Women's Federation of Protestant Churches. They are small in number but are the majority in a qualitative sense. We must say they represent the conscience of south Korea, the real voice of the south Korean people. They have behind them the majority of the people who love, back and assist them. Hence the reading of a sheet of declaration was regarded as something affecting the fate of the Pak regime and caused such a big row The Pak regime represents a handful of the bastards who have lost the support and sympathy of all the people. They are afraid that the recent case might lead to the eruption of the people's wrath. They considered that this cry had to be stopped before it grows louder this spring, the political season. The Pak regime is so much covered with wounds and so much rotten that its fate can be sealed by a sheet of declaration.

People are much thankful for those who spoke for their sullen feelings. But at the same time they feel very sorry for those now undergoing sufferings. Kim

Dae Jung may not be spared this time. Pak Jung Hi who has long attempted Kim's life will lose his temper and employ a sword. But world public opinion may save Kim's life. Many thoughts came into my head one after another. My senior who had told me on March 1 that something might happen had this to say concerning Mr. Kim Dae Jung.

"He used to say to me, 'I feel terribly uneasy at the thought that I must be the only person living an easy life.' He must have said so out of the thought that it would be an impudent selfishness to hope for spring without being thrown into prison. His struggle this time might be based on the outcry of his conscience as well as on his political considerations. This is natural. But, at that time, I told him that he should survive, warning that another imprisonment might cause his death. At this, he lamentingly whispered: 'I ve already suffered many a death. The young people are so courageously fighting, risking their lives.' "

Kim Dae Jung must survive. Every possible measure must be taken for his life at home and abroad. Really, one could hardly remain mum before the latest developments. Now it is not a matter of the loss of democracy or the decay and decline of the state. The longer silence, the greater sacrifice. The pressure of social mechanism has been further intensified with the increasing silence of the people. Expulsion practices are rife. Upon expulsion, over 500 professors will be unable to write any paper. Nor can they engage in trade. Expulsion will cut them from their sources of income, leaving them helpless like fallen leaves. More

people are sent to prison. And more of good students are expelled from colleges to wander about the streets. Unlike in the past, there is no hope of getting those suffering heavy penalties to be released on the strength of the movements at home and world public opinion. Most of the released young people involved in the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students have been arrested again. This time they are in danger of being implicated in a new spy case. In these circumstances should anyone passively observe the impending event without raising an outcry? Aren't the imprisoned and other sufferers casting imploring glances at those in the leading positions? Don't foreign public opinion and friends think that tranquility reigns over the country? At the fateful moment which admitted of no choice, these leaders chose the road of the "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation."

It is said that most of the arrested wives were released on the 10th Maybe it was because of the strong public censure. But these wives had to undergo examination before ten interrogators without being allowed to sleep for days on end. They were even examined for 55 hours without interruption. During a short break in the examination, an order came to recall everything they had done from January this year and write it down in diary form They say one woman had undergone such an examination for six days. It may be right to say that their hunger strike was not intentional but occasioned by the difficulty of eating resulting from such torture. But women seem to have grown stronger in this struggle. Another senior said to me in

a whisper:

"Yesterday I visited that woman in a hospital. At the awful sight of her cracked lips and swollen face I felt as if I were an assailant. But I was entranced by the sweet voice flowing out of her cracked lips. It was like a voice of the angel who had just returned after conquering the hell. I felt as if I were drinking the life-giving water flowing from Heaven. Finding such a fine Christian still alive in this age I cannot help offering thanks to God."

From this, we can see how Christians are now participating in politics. Anyone devoid of religious faith and compunction is unable to partake in this struggle. Can it be said that it is merely because the people of this land are driven by religious hallucinations?

March 15, 1976

THE JUNGLE LAW

It happened yesterday. One friend told me that a statement of the Minister of Culture and Public Information had been carried in a Japanese newspaper. Probably the Pak regime had consulted Japan on the "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" even before the south Korean papers dealt with it.

According to my friend, that Minister expressed his belief that Japan would understand the rigid posture of south Korea since "the present world is in the age of the jungle law."

My friend said that the term "jungle law" gave him a great shock.

The Pak regime is unable to see such historic phases as the judgement of world history, the criticism by the people and the cry of justice. South Korea under the sway of the Pak regime might have been reduced to the present state as it has taken in the jungle law prevailing over the world. The Pak regime is surely the stronger in the jungle law. It insists that there is no help for the misery of the slumdwellers in this age of the jungle law. This is the thought of a pack of the wicked dictators rotten to the core. Anyone who grasps this thought may easily comprehend everything that is going on under the Pak regime

The circumstances of the expulsion of over 500 professors are not yet made public. People say they are unknown to all except the relevant university authorities and the purgees. Are they a state secret to be kept for "national security"? Many professors were urged to present their written resignation on their own accord before getting unhonourable "dismissal" through examination. Hence a newspaper report on the "dismissal of 104 and resignation of 144 at a non-governmental university." A certain professor, I heard, went to his college with no idea of his dismissal, only to find that his laboratory and desk were all gone.

The government is much afraid lest this expulsion racket should give rise to another trouble It is said

that the Ministry of Education is the only organ keeping the list of the purged professors. The KCIA and Blue House may probably have it as well. Pak Jung Hi examined it very carefully. The number of those purged first was not so large. When their list was submitted Pak Jung Hi' flew into rage. Hence the racket of an additional wholesale purge. But these days he seems to be uneasy about this wholesale expulsion. The Ministry of Education has modified its rigid posture. Waiving its former claim for complete expulsion, it now says that it is within the authority of a university president to employ professors dismissed from other universities. As the saying goes, the mouse driven to the last ditch may bite the cat. They are now afraid that those dismissed professors should grow revolutionary. It is because some professors expelled last year have been involved in the recent case of the "Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation." Efforts are also made to explain the mistake made in defining those professors who had resigned just before getting the sack as the dismissed. Although the whole affair of the expelled professors is unknown, scattered information is available. Those professors critical of Japan's economic inroads, too, got the chuck. So were those who had signed declarations for literary purposes in the past. It is said that the number of those sacked evidently for political reasons will reach over 250, that is, half or three quarters of the total. Isn't there in a foreign country a body championing the freedom of scholarship? Hasn't Amnesty International anything to do with such affairs? Isn't there any way to make such organization conduct full-scale investiga-

tion and arouse a worldwide sensation? Having carried out the "educational reform," the KCIA is scheming to force the press media to hail it.

On March 1, the editorial of the daily *Chungang Ilbo* wrote that the number of the expelled professors was not so great, but "it will be a really good thing if this measure has marked the beginning of the reshuffle of the personages, which has been most strikingly sluggish in the whole of south Korean society ever since liberation, and offered an occasion to the influx of a large number of fresh ones." It is said that the number of the professors purged this time is so small that the second and then third measures should be taken in succession. This may be an advance notice of the steps to be taken by the KCIA It seems to continue to resort to blackmail. This is the politics governed by the jungle law.

Professor So Nam Dong, a pastor arrested for involvement in the recent case, was expelled from the Yonse University. Last December, during the Human Rights Week sponsored by the Christians, he gave a very impressive lecture entitled, "The Scene of Violation of Human Rights." He described the Declaration of the Rights of Man as a sequel to the Old and New Testaments. In this lecture he explained some cases of infringement on human rights that had occurred in 10-odd days.

To begin with, he told a story about the paupers who were driven out of their slum. For all their imploration to let them pass the winter in their slum, their plankhuts were pulled down and water supply shut off, leaving them outside in the cold He related an-

other story that a prayer meeting was planned at a church for its arrested pastor but its door was closed fast by the KCIA, allowing no one to open it. After relating some more of such stories, Pastor So concluded his lecture with: "The 20th century is a century of human beings. For south Korea too, I think, the year 1975 is a year of awakening to the human rights." He held that without admitting this fact it was impossible to argue about "historical consciousness." These people are the very initiators of the "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation." An elder pastor, who has not yet been arrested, told me:

"These days I come to think I'm really lucky to be a pastor. For I, unlike professors, am free from a danger of being expelled on the KCIA directive. Though they often try to maltreat and intimidate me through my parishioners, they are still not in a position to manhandle churches like universities. The present struggle looks like a struggle of the church against the state, the political power. This is why the political power claims for the separation of politics from religion. They have placed everything under their control except the church. Because of their faith, their speech based on it and their fidelity to God and to themselves, the churchmen cannot but censure everything that is evil. Like the martyrs who put up 'foolish resistance' when all people were keeping silence under Japanese imperialist rule."

I too had once considered faith to be a foolish thing. This time the declaration was signed mostly by

Protestants. Christians, however, are preparing a prayer service in commemoration of the March First Independence Movement. It appears that the recent "March First incident" has a deep-laid plan behind it. The KCIA too seems to think so. It was quite an unexpected event. So a mighty police net was cast in anticipation of its extension to the second and third stages. They say Pak Jung Hi's personal grudge towards Kim Dae Jung has raised its head again. He thinks there will be no more troublemaker if only he gags the mouths of the partakers in the recent case. This is why he is working hard to throw mud at the leading figures involved in the "March First incident" through the medium of the press. The daily *Choson Ilbo* carried a lengthy editorial speaking for the government under the title, "The Thought of a Nation, 1976." Its subtitle reads "On the March 1 Case of Agitation for the Overthrow of the Government."

Proceeding from the official proposition that describes the publication of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation as an agitation for the overthrow of the government, the editorial expressed the "belief that fair judgement would be passed on this case by law in future." This is based on the faith in the "constitutional government" of the Pak regime. Let me quote one clause which gives the fullest expression to the keynote of the editorial:

"Even Beethoven's best symphony may jar on one's ears when one sweats hard or is drowsy or racks one's brains over a sum, and when a mother tries to put a baby to sleep at the breast. How should we explain

such a political incident which has occurred abruptly just when order and stability are wanted for public security and progress?"

What sort of "progress" and "security" do they mean when the people are giving a louder groan with their rights infringed upon? The very land of south Korea where every mouth is gagged, only editorials of this sort prevailing, affords the hotbed of "political incidents" which are so hateful to those in power, doesn't it?

South Koreans are now suffering because they cannot remain submissive and silent under any ruler and any system. In the world where the jungle law operates the weaker must not have a groan before the stronger. The mother of Kim Ji Ha is asking if her son really remains alive. The head of the United Socialist Party is now in prison under a three years' sentence.

There is a rumour that pressed hard by world opinion, they will bring Kim Ji Ha before the court. But there is another rumour that the KCIA put him again to torture following the publication of the "Declaration of Conscience" and forced him to write the second statement, "I'm a Communist." If this is true, what will his trial be like? What have they done against him so far?

Kim Dae Jung is now in the same plight as at the time when he was kidnapped in 1973. What will become of him? The opposition New Democratic Party is talking about taking issue with it at the National Assembly. But what can it do? Meanwhile, the ruling party keeps threatening that it will stick to the tough policy whereby

it expelled assemblywoman Kim Ok Son last year as an anti-government speaker. So long as pastors are in prison, the churches will keep up resistance, holding prayer meetings. The KCIA may stop even the mouths of these prayers, regarding them as the last remnants of the resistance force.

The Lockheed scandal seems to have aroused the concern of the Japanese people these days, greatly awakening them. And the Pak regime is happy over this, I hear. For it may be favourable to them in disposing of the Kim Dae Jung affair In south Korea too, those who resisted in the past hardly show up these days. Maybe history wants to hear the cry of the new generation. I think this is an advance of history. The words made by the resistants at a meeting are now going around: "He occupied the throne like a fox, ruled over like a tiger and died like a dog." This is how an ancient church historian described the Great Herod who had lived in the age of Jesus

Why then do they voice this old passage now? Is it a cry of distress from those driven to the last ditch? A certain friend whispered it might be so. According to him, Americans are holding the view that the resistants of south Korea are so naive they can easily be manipulated. The opponents remain undisturbed and rather confident as they have planted their agents among those resistants to get every information of their move. In the recent case of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation, a few Protestants were sent back home though they had their names on the list of the signers to that declaration The KCIA states that their names have been usurped It appears that their

splitting machine is in motion. They believe they have fairly succeeded in giving the minority a big scare by setting the Protestant and Catholic leaders at variance. Will this practice bring them a continued success? I remember the words of an elder who told me about these naive people.

"I met those who were taken to prison on account of the recent case. Their mood seemed to be different from ours. They looked self-possessed, dignified and proud. Walking the path of ordeals, they were brimming over with joy and pride, if not those of victors. At the sight of their faces, I shed warm tears in mind. Words fail me to express my feeling. They fight without their headquarters, general staff and commander. Who then dictates them? We are obliged to believe that our headquarters and commander are in Heaven."

Living painful lives, he added, they get accustomed to taking a bitter cup with joy. They seem to have learned the magic of making themselves a phoenix.

They asked the above elder to send their regards to their friends abroad, saying: "Those friends working abroad for our sake will find themselves in more difficult conditions than we, as they are unable to share our excitement and feelings."

The editorial of *Choson Ilbo* will consider the author who attacked these naive people to be the top realist. He asked: "How are they to change the order and security of this society? What is the purpose of this change? Do they think it is possible?" Then this realist likened the Protestants and Catholics of south Korea to a force worth of several divisions serving com-

munism. What an unfounded Pak Jung Hi-like calculation is it to compare the 4.5 million Protestants and Catholics to the force several divisions strong? Does he rather mean that if they are given weapons they will far surpass the force of several divisions? But, apart from such realism, those naive resistant souls are changing history and throwing a gleam of new hope. This is why that sheet of declaration is shaking the Pak regime so hard.

I will conclude this lengthy letter with one more word. One friend gave me a top-secret information that as the KCIA was not so successful in its work in Japan a new powerful operation group had recently been sent there directly from the Blue House. They seem to have been annoyed especially by their repeated failure in the activity against the magazine *Sekai*. This new operation may be attended with some shady plots. Take every precaution against them. April 8 will come soon. Remember it It is the first anniversary of the execution of those eight persons allegedly involved in the case of the "People's Revolutionary Party." I wish the overseas friends will say even a single word in protest against this massacre.

March 15, 1976

THE FICTITIOUS SYSTEM

THE MINORITY IN SORROW

Whom is all this done for? An atmosphere resembling that on the eve of war is being created. It is said that a general meeting of the World Anti-Communist League was held yesterday. I wonder what sorts of people were present there. Today's newspapers carry such heavy headlines as "Frustration of Communist Aggression by Force Is the Sole Way;" "Division of Public Opinion Will Lead to Communization;" "For Closer Ties between Freedom-loving Corps!" These are from Pak Jung Hi's address at the meeting. Newspapers here usually make a splash of communism in the north, sparing no space.

This probably has had its effect. People in this land seem to be quite losing their reason as a result of the fear of the north. Expressing his concern for human rights in south Korea at the US House of Representatives, Fraser had reportedly spoken on the problem of the withdrawal of the US troops. Newspapers are kicking up a shine every day in denunciation of his "reckless remarks." Theirs is not an earnest approach to the problem of human rights. They are only bally-

hooing that the withdrawal of the US army "will trigger off a war of aggression by Communists." Too clamorous to bear.

How can they remain indifferent to the worldwide discussion of human rights in south Korea simply because of that fear? How are they so much insensitive to the change in the world's history? Do they think that all they have to do is to maintain power? Things have gone to such a point that though I belong to this nation, I feel like calling it an enigmatic nation. Then, what will be the image of this nation in the eyes of foreigners? Can a despot installed in power make his country so much enigmatic? Well, Germans, too, once took up with such insanity.

The people's understanding is based not on truth but on fiction called rumours. The government stresses a war footing, but this is also a fiction built on the deceptive outcry called war. It is obviously such a fictitious system that dominates south Korea today.

Society without truth, it is too miserable a society. Is this the cause of the following lamentation? "Whither do we go? What are we doing? Both you and I are being dragged off. We do not believe one another. We are being torn to pieces. We do nothing but biting each other with food placed before us. The enemy is attacking us and, to add to this, even our brothers are sneering at us. We are really lonely and sorrow-stricken people. We more often cry with hunger than laugh with a sense of satiety. Your faithful servants are now where murderers and burglars were locked up. The criminals are passing judgement on the honest people."

Above is the outcry of the resistant minority. It was a passage of the "Today's Religious Confession" read out by the Christians who had got together to observe Passion Week prior to Easter. They also offered a prayer for "our brothers still in prison." I wonder whether justice is mocked when violence seems to be powerful and resistance hopeless. It may be likened to Don Quixote's gallantry. However, they know that the preach of "it's a futile effort" made many patriots turncoats during Japanese rule, too. It was the jargon of the traitors. And it is still used by the Pak Jung Hi regime. But a good many south Koreans are well aware that if things go on as now, the Pak regime's much-vaunted security and economic growth are impossible. Many government officials and even the KCIA think so to themselves. In the innermost recess of their hearts is occurring dissociation of consciousness. All have no choice but to pretend to make their best for the fiction which won't go down with any one. How pitiable this is!

Without knowing this feelings of the people, one can hardly speak about today's south Korea. If one has not an eye for understanding their mentality, one is liable to take the cold words of the Pak regime in judging the people of this country and form a hasty conclusion even without having a talk with them. The more the south Koreans keep deep silence, the more the foreigners may behave so. Then the south Korean people will hold their tongues tighter, indignant with them for their heartlessness. A friend of mine told his foreign colleague as follows:

"You perhaps don't know well about a nation that

suffered from maltreatment for a long time. Our people have an instinct for love. They are very sensible of sincere words. When ill-treated, they won't weep, but when shown affection, they shed tears. They are people who are easily moved to tears. I advise you to read a lyric written during Japanese colonial rule. How stubborn Kim Ji Ha's resistance is! But it resides with a ceaseless stream of tears of his lyric."

A pastor of a church for the poor is now in hiding. Because he doesn't want to run the danger of being arrested on the charge of acquainting his church members with "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation." Two KCIA men are entrenched in his house to torment his wife. She is not allowed even to answer the phone. Whenever she goes marketing, they never fail to shadow her. She is telling that she feels like taking her own life, I hear.

One day a friend was called to the Civil Defence Corps drill. He is required to get four hours' drill a month. Reporting himself at the place, he found a young man reading a lecture on world politics before the audience of some five hundreds brought from the neighbourhood. The man seemed to be going to persuade the assembly to unite under the guidance of one man in defence against the north. Among the audience there were even intellectuals of considerable attainments, but his lecture was so rambling. Shouts arose from the whole audience demanding him to stop his lecture and get down from the rostrum. It was usual with the wrath of the masses to erupt in a queer way on such an occasion. The result was that a responsible

official had to make an apology. My friend went on to say:

"He brawled, only to excite terror. Such is the way work is organized. They organize it only for form's sake and do not furnish even the expense properly. And think what sort of lecturer they employ, the greenhorn who regards lectureship as advancement in life."

I at last asked him if they should not intend to get intellectuals like him to speak about loyalty. At this, his face wore a languishing expression.

"They may do that," he said. "But, I wonder how things will turn out then. Still, day laborers have a hard time of it. They have to undergo two hours' drill twice a month and in this couple of days they are unable to earn wages. To prolong its existence, the Pak regime commits such extravagance and excessiveness throughout the country."

Needless to say, the Civil Defence Corps is no more than a fiction. In it are incorporated men of 17-50 years of age. It is natural that the Pak regime can't take things easy with such an organization. With the anniversary of the April 19 Popular Uprising coming round, Seoul University proclaimed a three-day vacation, though there was no sign of movement among the students. It was allegedly for letting them do their home task. Newspapers reported that a ministerial spokesman expressed his view of this as follows:

"It's very gratifying that the rising generation of today is tightening its posture to do for the creation of

a new history of restoration of the country."

What impudent, fictive remarks these are! They hammer out a fictitious reality, extol it and even take hasty measures for it.

A queer rumour goes forth about the declaration announced at a theological seminary on March 25. The declaration called for "abrogation of the Revitalization Constitution and repeal of emergency measures" in support of "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" However, they say it was, in all respects, the trick of the KCIA agents. It was certain that one of the prime movers had the previous record of such a dealing. Making a reverse use of it, the faculty meeting expelled three participants in the name of the tough policy of the authorities. Now the KCIA found fault with the punishers, complaining that they were too severe. Such a disgraceful affair seems to have provided the KCIA with an excuse for making a search of the institute by force.

Thus, truth has disappeared and only mysterious fiction prevails. But the authorities give no heed to the feelings of the people who ask which way they should take under the circumstances Do they think that the people's spiritual decadence resulting from it guarantees the possibility of their continued seizure of power?

May 2, 1976

MANY DOUBTS

As ours is a society where rumours are rife, there are various sorts of doubts. Hearing that Mr. Kodama has become a topic for discussion in Japan, I feel many doubts about it. The Pak regime made a miscalculation at the time of the presidential election of the Liberal Democratic Party. So its contribution flowed into the unsuccessful candidate. Similar rumour was afloat during the presidential election in the United States.

From then on the Korean Air Lines came to play a bigger role in the relation with Japan. And part of its shares went into the hands of the Japanese. This brings to my mind the abduction of a Korean resident in West Germany by the KCIA in 1967 on the pretext of the so-called East Berlin spy case. Wasn't he said to have been brought by a Japanese airliner? He probably had no passport, nor air ticket. Considering this, I presume that there was some sort of Japan's wirepulling behind the abduction of Kim Dae Jung, Mun Se Gwang's attempted assassination of the President and other events. I wonder if there was a suggestion of political brokers who go between south Korea and Japan. It is incredible that Mr. Kim Dae Jung was abducted so easily. Isn't it also a mystery that Mun Se Gwang had stolen a pistol from a Japanese policeman single-handed and came to Seoul?

Amidst these rumours getting about, newspapers reported the formation of the "National Federation of the Japan-ROK Friendship Societies" in Japan. The Federation consists of Japanese politicians and businessmen and south Korean residents in Japan, and its network is spread all over Japan, from the metropolis to the prefectures. Its professed objective is to promote friendly exchanges between the peoples of south Korea and Japan and extend nationwide support to south Korea in case "it is in distress." Shiina Etsusaburo, Vice-President of the Liberal Democratic Party, is said to be the President of the Federation. Mr. Shiina has been known to us as a statesman who defined Japanese aggression in the past as "glorious imperialism" during the ROK-Japan talks in 1965. Then, what organization is this "National Federation of the Japan-ROK Friendship Societies?" I cannot but feel that the thick fog shrouding the ROK-Japan relations is getting thicker with each passing day.

Here is another doubt On May 8 the newspapers reported on the "Exposure of a Large Group of Gamblers at a Directorial Level." The group has many directors of the leading companies and especially a lot of scions of plutocrats. One vice-minister of the government is also involved in it. The money thrown into the gambling so far amounts to 100 million *won* for each player on an average. It is said that the Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Fishery, one of the gamesters, offered the excuse that he had happened to be there only to press a director for payment of interest on the loan.

As for the petty public servants, their corruption is controlled in the name of unreasonableness. Of

course, no naive person would believe that such a thing can put an end to degeneration in this country. Such a measure would only intellectualize their movements all the more and lead to raising the wager because "danger allowance" is added to it. This is a matter of common knowledge now. The system of this country is not like that of the people's self-government under which they are allowed to participate in politics and secure control of the officials. No one dares to take exception to the irregularities of the high-ranking officials in power in particular. These power elites clamour about the purge of junior officials, but they themselves are engaged in larger venal practices behind the scenes.

Our country has no means of redressing this injustice. Because the bureaucracy supervisors who should remedy it are corrupt all the worse. An official who fails to amass money is regarded as an incompetent man, and this is the prevailing tone of society. Therefore, even if a corrupt practice is laid bare, they do not think it a shame. They think that in a short time they can build up wealth and fame again by making good use of the amassed money. They just regard it as a slump in business.

The "misfortune" which happened to the Vice-Minister this time is ascribable to his lack of political power. Rising cries against unreasonableness help invent new methods of bribing officials. Gambling is one of them. Another method is to bet money on golf. Formerly there was a method of making a present of simple curios and then buying them back through a curio dealer. Power itself is sustained completely by

injustice, and how can this regime wipe out corruption? People sneer at that fiction, saying that it is just like a robber disguising himself as a policeman. The Pak regime has no qualification or ability to dissipate this doubt of the people before anything else.

Groups of south Korean residents in Japan are invited to visit the ancestral tombs. This arouses a considerable doubt. A serious doubt also exists as to the collection of contributions for their visits. Why does the government apply so "generous offensive" to them, instead of helping the poor people at home? Is it not designed to give publicity to the just rule of the Pak regime and boast of the success of its work? It is certainly intended for propaganda at home. The visitors are subject to the KCIA surveillance. Their relatives in the localities are told not to receive watches and other presents from them, and they are also supervised. This is just for the demonstration of a decent life and national subjecthood—a mean trick, indeed. Why does the government waste a huge amount of state money in such a political puppet-show? The doubt is clearly reflected in the recent appeal of the *saranghang* church.

Its members were driven out of their slum in the depth of winter. Tents were pitched several times, only to be pulled down each time. They went to a big church to ask for help. But they were beaten there and returned. At last, they reared a church with the help of the churchmen working in the slum. Living there, they for the first time came in touch with Christianity. Together with the Christians who had rescued them, they offered prayers for the churchmen who had been

imprisoned on the charge of violating Emergency Decree No. 9. This brought destruction upon their tent church as well as their household belongings.

An appeal conveys their burning wrath.

"We don't fear death," they wrote. "Kill us immediately if you wish to!" Their children were sent down from their primary school. They were told to go to school in their new residential quarters where they had settled after the removal of the slum. But, at the new residence section, I am told, they cannot go through the transfer formalities because they have no formal residences and are unable to notify the *dong* office of their settlement. It appears that the Seoul Municipal Office has planted flowers on the site of the slum. They raise outcries: "Who in the world are going to enjoy the sweet fragrance of the flowers grown on the soil of the removed slum which is soaked with our tears of blood? May we die to become manure for them?" "Mayor and Headman of the Ward, you mean and coldhearted thugs!"

Let me add another story open to doubts. It is said that early in May the American NBC Television broadcasted the activities of the KCIA in the United States. It exposed that Pak Jung Hi had been an officer of the Japanese army and that the former director of the KCIA had emigrated to the United States and was living a comfortable life in a residence worth 250,000 dollars, with a wide area of land and surrounded by an American cook, gardener and private teacher and using a 30,000 dollar worth carpet.

It is probably for this reason that the Pak regime has intensified its work of winning over those Ameri-

cans with "anti-south Korean sentiments." At an advisors' meeting held in the Unification House, a woman adviser said:

"During my visit to the United States I tried to meet anti-south Korean personages. But many of them refused, fearing that it should hurt their reputations. So, they only hear of anti-south Korean stories, which make them more and more anti-south Korean."

Of course they cannot utter words reflecting on the Pak regime's image of violence and the KCIA's mean conducts. An adviser remarked "How do we know whether there are reports unfavourable to us or not. Excessive clippings are applied even to the *Time* and *News Week*." Another adviser spoke: "Public opinion on the south Korean issue is swayed by the foreign correspondents in Tokyo and the south Koreans residing in America." He said this as if he were giving out an important information According to his view, in the United States public opinion influences the Congress and the latter administers the affairs of the States.

The advisers to the Unification House whose alleged mission it is to assist the public information and diplomacy of the government are discussing measures without knowing in the least what "anti-south Korean public opinon" is being moulded abroad. Are they seized with the fear that if they get acquainted with the whole truth they should be colored by it and spread rumours running counter to the Pak regime's Emergency Decree No. 9, rather than discussing measures against it? And their discussion of countermeasures is nothing but a discussion based on fiction.

The Pak regime may get even with foreign jour-

nalists. That is probably why several days ago it seized for six hours a film showing the trials for those related to the "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation." The Pak regime may possibly run riot now, without discriminating friends from the enemy. I wonder if the US embassy can protect the US reportorial personnel. My friend continued:

"Who knows but intellectuals, universities and even Christian churches may yield to the pressure of the government for attack on Fraser and issue a certain statement? But it is nothing different from the written confession extorted from Kim Ji Ha. Even if the Pak regime made a frantic anti-US clamour, American public would never become well-affected toward it. It will rather worsen. What worries the US embassy is merely that in that case things will turn unfavourable to the Ford Administration."

That day this friend of mine in the press informed me of another fact for which I must express today my hearty thanks to the Japanese friends.

He told me that it was the Japanese correspondents in Seoul who had first obtained the recent "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" and reported it with courage. It must be for this reason that many south Korean democratic people feel grateful to them. This is another beautiful story. I, too, wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to them.

May 17, 1976

WAILING COURT

The democratic personages related to the "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" were put to two trials. The present feelings of the Pak regime, in a word, may be very uneasy, placed in an awkward situation after it arrested them on the order from the enraged supreme authority. It unduly accused them of an attempted overthrow of the government, incitement to internal disturbances and so on and so forth. But it is at a loss how to manage. In particular, it finds itself in a fix in face of world public opinion.

The authorities are said to have ordered the court to continue the second trial until late in the evening so as to conclude it as early as possible. Rumours have it that the judges defied the order after barely sitting in judgment till afternoon. Papers here covered the both first and second trials briefly. Ex-President Yun Bo Son is reported to have declared at the court: "It was me that insisted on inserting such an expression as the abolition of the Revitalization Constitution." This is intended to make foreign countries believe that an unbiased report is given of a fair trial. But we felt excitement as we could come, even through a short article, in touch with the noble spirit of the greatest men who represent this country.

First of all, I must give a report of the first trial held on May 4. Admission tickets were issued, which was beyond all precedents. They had the blanks for the entry of the registered number of inhabitancy and address, and there was the following sentence: "The above person has the entree of the court during the trial of case No. 287, the 76th *kohoe* of this Court." They were issued in the name of Min Yong Chol, head of the 1st Criminal Section, the Seoul District Criminal Court.

On April 30, five tickets were delivered to each of the families of the accused. On the court day they came to an agreement on rejecting the observation. They did this to oppose the attempt to strike a terror into the hearts of the spectators by means of establishing their identity. Barricades were built around the courthouse and large mobile force, KCIA agents and policemen stood by, closing the street to traffic. High courage was required of the visitors who had to identify themselves. Things are so tough that the students who visit the court to observe the trials of their imprisoned classmates may face a danger, and it is not difficult to imagine how worse they are in the case of the "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation."

Most of the 250 seats in the visitors' gallery were occupied by KCIA agents, and an ominous atmosphere pervaded the courtroom. From the outset, the counsel held that the trial was null and void because the court was not declared open. They fought on. Their argument was that the trial could not be conducted fairly on account of the question of the admission tickets and

the strict cordon thrown around the courthouse. The judiciary was obliged to make a promise that they would set the matter right before the next trial.

An identification interrogation was conducted first on Mr. Kim Dae Jung. He was followed by Pastor Mun Ik Hwan. He put up a resistance, declaring that he could not take his trial at a court without the presence of his family. Mun stated that the atmosphere was dreadful and curious. The so-called defendants in detention were in handcuffs. Mr. Yun Bo Son exchanged a handshake with Mr. Kim Dae Jung, though the warden tried to prevent it National Assemblyman Chong Il Hyong stood up and expressed his thanks to the mass of spectators, bowing to them. His wife Li Tae Yong, a lawyer, shouted in a rage at him, "Why do you bow to the KCIA agents!" Her remarks were sarcastic about the KCIA agents occupying most of 250 seats. "You pitiable fellows," uttered Mr. Chong disdainfully.

The judges and public procurators looked gloomy. All the observers clapped their hands, with the exception of the KCIA agents, and when the court was closed they raised a clamour, singing songs. When the trial was adjourned due to the protest of the defence counsel, the court was astir with spectators informing the imprisoned of the situation outside and the news of their families.

Outside the court, a fighting was going on between the families and the police, mobile force and KCIA agents. Foreign missioneries were standing in between the conflicting parties to protect the women. People who assembled there together with the families broke

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through the barricades and staged a sit-down strike in front of the gate of the courthouse. Their number swelled to one hundred. The families pasted a plaster tape crosswise on their mouths to symbolize the death of democracy. They had carried the tape in their handbags. The trial lasted for less than one hour. The clash of the families with the task force would have furnished a sufficient reason for their arrest on charge of violating the Emergency Decrees. The Pak regime, however, did not think it necessary to go to that length. Beaten and thrown down, all the families got wounds. A rumour spread that one of the 24 counsels was in touch with the government and that his defence was rejected. The women whose husbands are in prison seem to grow stronger in the course of such a struggle.

The second trial was held on May 15. Before reporting on this trial, I must touch on our apprehension for the health of the imprisoned. All have run down. Nevertheless, they are struggling with courage at the court. Mr. Kim Dae Jung has a bloated face. He was so weakened that he had to be supported when going upstairs. Seeing that, one of his acquaintances had a careworn air, doubting if his health was not impaired by the authorities. Mr. Kim is said to have lost his appetite and sleep badly.

Prof. An Byong Mu was suffering from neuralgia in his right arm. Pastor Yun Ban Ung, aged 66, was in such a condition as to eat gruel only. He is said to have come round a little. Prof. Li Mun Yong is refusing to receive meals sent in to him. So, he looks very infirm, but he regards refusal as a form of struggle, I hear. He was too emaciated to walk sure foot. People

say that the professor and his wife must have been emulating the example of their fathers who had suffered *a great deal while fighting against Japanese rule.* It is desirable that those outside the prison will ask the authorities to give them humane treatment for the sake of their health.

In the late trial the so-called defendants in detention were without handcuffs. There is even a rumour flying about that it was due to the presence of an American lawyer from the US church. The families of the accused were given seven admission tickets each. They intended to visit the court this time. But they had to abandon their intention when they went near the courthouse. Contrary to the judges' promise, the court was guarded stricter than before. It seemed the whole KCIA staff was mobilized, to say nothing of the mobile force. Traffic had already been shut off at the entrance of the main street. The families commenced resistance, which gave the pedestrians an impression that a large-scale demonstration was held in the main street. At the time of the first trial, traffic had been blocked in the neighbourhood of the courthouse.

The visitors had to register their names and addresses three times before they entered the gate of the courthouse. One of the accused who was not yet detained told at the court later that he had not been allowed to pass although he had identified himself as a defendant. He blamed the excessive guard. He said that he had met a KCIA man, one of his acquaintances, and was allowed to come into court. Why such a monstrous guard? Do they think the defendants have power enough to influence the popular masses, although they

repress the latter so mercilessly?

Three judges were sitting on the bench. The public procurators were seated on the left and the counsels on the right. The first three rows of the seats in the gallery were occupied by the defendants in detention. The wardens were seating themselves between them. The fourth row was taken wholly by some ten wardens. It was really a dreadful sight. A little way off from it were seated seven of the accused not yet detained. The next three rows were offered to reporters and the eight rows in the back allotted to the spectators.

It appeared that the so-called defendants were hauled to court at half past seven. From then on traffic was blocked and all the other trials were suspended that day. Reaching the court, the families, wives in particular, could not but be surprised at the heavier guard than before. So, around half past nine they burned up their admission tickets, singing prohibited Martin Luther King's Song of Liberty "We Shall Overcome." The wives were taken away by the mobile force, and the students who happened to be nearby were locked up in a bus and given a sound thrashing. They told they were just the passers-by, but that served no excuse.

Sirens wailed out at eleven o'clock. This is the announcement of the start of an anti-air raid exercise. With an eye to reminding the people of actual warfare sometimes the radios are used to broadcast all over the country: "Enemy airplanes spotted; our fighters chase them; a severe fighting is going on!" This, after all, is designed to drive the masses away. That day the

gave the alarm at a set hour and dispersed the crowd including the families.

The trial of that day began some minutes past ten and continued till four o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Yun Bo Son took exception to two official counsels. For he considered this to be an attempt to continue the trial even without the presence of the counsels named by himself. But the two counsels wished to be excused from their assignment, saying: "Aren't we as good as the borrowed barley sacks!" This meant they could not move and speak like a barley sack.

The declination of the counsels was readily accepted. This probably helped them to grasp the authorities' intention to speedily conclude the trial. They apparently judged that the first instance would be finished with some four hearings. So the trial was continued in the afternoon, too. Around 3:55 the prosecution called Pastor Mun Ik Hwan by name, when the presiding judge declared the court adjourned. He must have concluded that he could hardly keep his dignity and carry on judgment in such an atmosphere.

The judge was supposed to have defied the pressure put on him by the authorities for the continuation of the trial into the night. Mr. Kim Dae Jung used the right to be silent for the reasons that he could not meet his lawyer properly and that, though he had the vague memory of the text of the Declaration which he had signed two months before, he was not permitted to have a look at it again.

So, the public procurator kept talking to himself. "Did you meet XXX!" he asked. Then he answered to his own question, "Yes." "Did you intend to create a

disturbance?" And this question was followed by a soliloquy: "Yes." The superintendent public procurator asked in succession: "Did you have any difficulties during the examination? Haven't you been ever beaten?" Mr. Kim Dae Jung spat out that he deemed it unnecessary to answer. Now the questioner answered his own question affirmatively: "Yes, you haven't. You have undergone investigation in free atmosphere." It was too hard for the chief judge to bear, so it turned out that when Pastor Mun Ik Hwan was called by the prosecution, he declared the trial over for the day. The judge had given the counsels his words that the trial would be conducted only in the morning, but it was resumed in the afternoon. I wonder if he had opened the court in the afternoon for form's sake by pressure from the authorities. There were whispers about the little resistance of conscience. Here let me introduce the major words spoken by those seated in the dock.

The prosecution called Mr. Yun Bo Son "Defendant Yun Bo Son." The counsel, however, called his name with "Your Excellency" from the first to the end. The observers murmured that it was an interesting contrast. In view of his attitude, the public procurator was striving to mould Mr. Kim Dae Jung into the prime mover, as was referred to in his written accusation. Mr. Yun Bo Son told my friend: "It seems to me all are suffering troubles due to me. It is I that put in the strongest words. Can't the young people be released if I assume the whole responsibility? My heart is sore for them." But everyone seemed to submit to fate with ease of mind, thinking that he is bound to follow that road under the Pak regime. This mood was clearly manifested at the

second trial. It seemed their hearts were at a breaking point with the desire to speak to their satisfaction at the court what they had been unable to speak outside. They kept on their speeches, defying the judge.

PP (Public Procurator): "Did you say there was no liberty?"

Yun (Yun Bo Son): "Is this trial not a proof of it? I called for democracy."

PP: "Wasn't Vietnam overthrown while making ado about democracy?"

Yun: "The Vietnamese people are not afraid of communism. Vietnam and our country differ in their peoples, but their forms of government are the same. A corrupt government cannot win support of the people or wage a war. The government is clamouring against communism, but is it not we that keeps security?"

PP: "I was hospitably entertained with coffee and others during the research at your house."

Yun: "Does it not run counter to the regulations on unreasonableness?" (This set the spectators into a roar of laughter. He probably said it to ridicule the government which arrests junior officials entertained with something like tea, while leaving high-ranking officials entirely uncontrolled.)

Yun: (To the presiding judge) "I'm the prime mover, and why don't you detain me?"

Presiding Judge: "I think it's on account of your advanced age and your former post as President."

Yun: "I'm not accorded any treatment due to ex-presidency."

The proud answer of the 78-year-old ex-President deeply moved the observers. They laughed loudly and applauded with their hands over their knees. I felt like asking who judged whom. The defendants were full of pride and the judges were unable to raise their heads. Such was the actual situation. It is said that later the prosecution was reprimanded by the person above for having asked useless questions which gave a good chance to Mr. Yun Bo Son.

Li Tae Yong: "This is not a trial. It's something like a military tribune under martial law. The atmosphere reminds me of a fighting between the government and the people or between the Ministry of Justice and the citizens. Remove at once this atmosphere of a state of siege. Conduct the trial in a way not to disgrace history!"

Ham Sok Hon: "I appeal to you to pass a judgment at the dictation of conscience and common sense. Think of the historical importance of this moment! Even if you didn't recognize the existence of God, you would be able to imagine the judgment of history."

Ham Se Ung: "We acted according to the dictates of Christian conscience and patriotism. But, you don't give heed to that. You have treated it as a mere criminal case."

Mun Dong Hwan: "Here innocent people are being tried. Many investigators are present here.

It's just like an atmosphere under emergency martial law. This is simply pitiable. From now on I will just say 'Yes' when my name and address are asked. But, remember that all my answers are my lamentation."

Mun Jong Hyon: "I was born in an out-of-the-way village in Cholla Province. I've no one to rely on and no relative to turn to. And no government I should trust in. I reject this trial."

The counsels attacked and even used the walk-out tactic. "The terror-ridden atmosphere is unbearable. We are not allowed to meet the defendants. Those who want to observe the trial are given pressure. They are even photographed. What we had agreed upon with the chief judge leaks out. There are many blank spaces in the written accusation. It lacks the date, the place, the name of the other party. It is hardly possible to establish a criminal factum with them. The health of the accused is breaking down, but even a consultation about their health was not allowed Why?" There was no end of attacks from the counsels. When they left the court in demand of a fair trial, the observers stood up, which produced a great stir. Someone said in a subdued tone that those staying behind were the KCIA agents. A laughter swept the court and an applause reverberated.

Our overseas friends might be tired with the protracted struggle. But I wish they should not be disappointed. The trial should rather be called a festival. It must be remembered that no one has yet been converted in this struggle for democracy. At times only

silence is forced upon them. The people are not informed of the great struggle at the court. Herein lies the loneliness of the fighting people. For all that, it must be said, the popular masses of south Korea are struggling together with them. The daily *Choson Ilbo* carried an editorial on the publication of the "March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation" with the following long headline: "A Citizen's Thought on the Incident of Agitation for Overthrow of the Government That Occurred on March First Anniversary in 1976." This occasioned the sudden nationwide increase of notices of suspension of subscription. A cadre of the newspaper office whispered in my ear that in Mokpo, the native place of Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the circulation of the paper had dwindled by 300 in a single day. The manager cannot rush to reaction recklessly even for the sake of business. The reporters expelled from the both papers *Tonga* and *Choson*, too, keep on their struggle. Their will is still so strong that of late the newspaper offices rather think it wise to help them to get a job and thus settle the problem. As for the newspaper offices, they are striving to make them, at least, get tired and give up struggling.

The reporters are not converted at all. They visualize the future in the oppressive silence. And there are people who are struggling free from fear and full of pride, laughing as in the aforesaid court and as in the Galilee Church. There are spiritual ties of mutual encouragement. In this course, conscience is tempered. Even if it is the remnant of the minority, it may be this nation's source of hope all the same. One of my friends who attended the Galilee Church told me on the

afternoon of yesterday which was Sunday:

"Most of people present there were those related to the trial on the previous day. Almost all of their leading members are now behind the bars. But, no sorrow and melancholy were to be found there. It was a fete-day of laughter. They sang, clapping their hands, 'We will win, we will live in peace hand in hand, we will live in liberty.' There was also the ex-President's wife. Moneyed and learned people, too. Poor students who had been purged from their universities and members of the *sarangbang* church who had been forced out of the slum were also there. The rich and the poor were singing songs arm in arm. They were sharing the same fate with each other, the fate of the victims of the Pak regime's expulsion. It may be the embryo of future south Korea where they can share joys and sorrows without class distinction. The Korean folk song 'Nodu'gangbyon' or 'A Riverside with Weeping Willow' was sung sweetly there."

I am more and more inclined to think that though everything is trampled underfoot by the horrible fictitious system, a genuine system is growing under it. There may be many cool people who regard this as a mere illusion, a heroic illusion. It is my belief, however, that as long as there are such joyful exchanges between them, though they represent the minority now, south Korea will never take her last sleep. A man can still have a hope if his heart and conscience are not dead. Isn't this nation such a people that can still enjoy a national festival in such a cruel court?

May 17, 1976

RECORDS OF DICTATORIAL COURT

THE DISFIGURED OPPOSITION PARTY

"The fatherland is covered all over with wounds." This is a lamentation coming from the lips of every south Korean with a heavy heart. An expression of it is found in the act of violence which took place in the New Democratic Party, the hitherto-called Opposition, towards the end of May.

It happened on May 25, the day of the national convention of the New Democratic Party which is held every two years. The meeting was scheduled to elect the party leader. But, at 6:00 a.m. that day a violent fighting started between the main-stream group and the non-main-stream group. The Seoul Citizen's Hall, the place where the convention was to be held, was occupied by the non-main-stream group armed with iron tubes and clubs. Upon this the main-stream group withdrew and held a separate party congress at the NDP building. Now both sides are in contention, each claiming itself to be orthodox.

Symptoms of such a split had long been observed within the New Democratic Party. The controversy had called for violence already at regional party conferen-

es. On May 22, the NDP building was seized by more
han 100 youngsters in their teens or twenties mobiliz-
d by the non-main-stream group. The main-stream
roup's National Assemblymen and members of the
arty's executive office were taken into custody for
early seven hours under threats of their iron tubes
nd hammers. Among the young fellows there were
igh school graduates who had failed at university en-
rance examinations and juvenile delinquents brought
p to Seoul from the countryside. It is said that the
letained, released seven hours later after persuasion,
ame out at night, stooping as much as crawling and
hading their faces with their hands from the flashes
of cameras.

It is not too much to say that such a row within the
New Democratic Party has aroused a great wave of
eople's indignation. Disgusted as they are with the
Opposition which they considered to be a stooge,
hey get very angry when things come to such a pass.
his is probably because they still pin a vague hope
n it, though they know it is useless in the reality
vhere deep silence prevails. The authorities, therefore,
leemed it necessary to blight their hope.

There is much to be said on either group. The main-
tream group aims at the reelection of Kim Yong Sam,
he present party leader. The non-main-stream group is
pposed to it. However, it is said that each side criti-
izes the other side for acting as the stooge of the
Pak regime and making it impossible to preserve the
mage of the "clean opposition party." Seeing the New
Democratic Party reduced to a shambles, the persons
amiliar with the politics of south Korea make a prompt

conclusion that it is the work of the KCIA. Stooges were sent into both groups to produce such disturbances.

Why did the Pak regime allegedly having so much regard to the maintenance of order keep assuming the attitude of an onlooker toward the violence committed by the non-main-stream group? Why did it deal leniently with the gang of hoodlums by releasing them after admonition? Why does it not intend to identify those who mobilized the street delinquents and the source of funds used for it? Some of them were seen staggering out of the NDP building dead drunk, after seven hours' occupation.

Both of the contending groups, each claiming itself to be orthodox, asked the Central Election Administration Committee to recognize their national conventions. The result was that both were declared illegal. This was what had been expected by those who knew the KCIA's way of doing. Like this, at important junctures the KCIA never failed to get the opposition party covered all over with wounds. Still very vivid in my memory is an incident that occurred at the time of the split of the New Democratic Party in 1972. The 1971 presidential election was an election in which government authority most openly intervened. Therefore, Mr. Kim Dae Jung, in spite of his failure in the election, became a new hope for the Opposition. And Mr. Kim Hong Il, a supporter of Mr. Kim Dae Jung, was elected head of the party.

When the national convention was held in 1972, an almost similar scene of violence took place. The meeting place was seized by those called stooges of the

government. Mr. Kim Dae Jung and others had no alternative but to call the party convention in the yard of the party leader's mansion. At the time the Central Election Administration Committee recognized the non-main-stream group, a cat's paw of the government, as the orthodox group, while outlawing Kim Dae Jung's group. The reason was that the former made a report on the results of the convention under the seal of the party leader. It had stolen the seal very cautiously before the meeting was opened. As the latter had the party chief on its side it held that the former should be accused of the use of the seal by stealth. But the Central Election Administration Committee turned a deaf ear to it.

As a result, the case was brought before court, but it was left unsettled due to the announcement of martial law on the 10th and the promulgation of the Revitalization Constitution. In order to establish one-man dictatorship as we see today the Pak regime had got to stage such a farce of splitting the opposition party. This time Mr. Kim Yong Sam probably kept the party head's seal carefully. The Central Election Administration Committee notified both sides that their "applications for the change of Party delegates" were turned down. How can the New Democratic Party cope with this difficult situation?

It is said that the KCIA frames up incidents under a far-reaching plan. For the concoction of a communist-involved case it smuggles an agent into an object and keeps him there for a considerably long period. He engages in agitation and other activities without revealing his true colours so that even innocent people

are implicated in communist manoeuvres. The recent case of the opposition party should also be taken as an outcome of the KCIA's long machination. In particular, the tragedy is said to have been further aggravated due to the lack of influence of Mr. Kim Dae Jung now in prison.

To be sure, the leadership of the non-main-stream group has long been manipulated by the KCIA. This everyone admits. Nevertheless, even a considerable number of those so far most critical of the government are siding with the non-main-stream group. This cannot but puzzle the people in judgment. Quite a few persons called followers of Kim Dae Jung are also found among them. In order to calmly judge the state of affairs it is necessary to carefully examine the very cheap conducts of the Opposition under Pak's dictatorial regime. On May 13, 1975, Pak Jung Hi proclaimed Emergency Decree No. 9 to bring forth such a terrible situation as we are in today. Then, on May 21, he had an important talk with Mr. Kim Yong Sam, head of the New Democratic Party. What they conversed at the talk has been veiled from public knowledge until now. A rumour flies around that he asked Mr. Kim Yong Sam for help, promising him that he would guarantee him for the leadership of the Opposition. It is also said that Pak Jung Hi expressed his intention to hand the baton over to Mr. Kim Yong Sam in the future, for he could not put the reins of government in the hands of Mr. Kim Dae Jung. Anyway, Mr. Kim Yong Sam has insisted that he cannot make public the particulars of the conversation as he and Pak Jung Hi entered into a gentlemen's agreement.

Because of such an event his political life is now threatened by the KCIA's wiles. The Pak regime is so careful in deceiving the people.

After that, Mr. Kim Yong Sam, as though to confirm the rumor, was not so active in the struggle against the government presumably because he was restrained by the emergency decrees and the aftereffects of South Vietnam's collapse. Precisely herein lies the reason why the Opposition members who have so far fought are swinging to the non-main-stream group which is reportedly led by a stooge. The non-main-stream group itself took a strong anti-government measure and is said to have promised to give those persons party leadership. It seems, however, that the falsity of it is becoming clear gradually. Thinking that it has succeeded in splitting the New Democratic Party, the non-main-stream group is purging all the so-called followers of Kim Dae Jung from the Party. Its true colours will be shown still more clearly. Moreover, to all appearance, within the main-stream group headed by Kim Yong Sam there still remain persons who are said to be manipulated by the Pak regime.

Like this, when an opposition party is split, everything is mixed up so that it is hard to say who is on which side. It is designed to give the people the ugly image of those scrambling for power or money. And this makes the people disappointed in the opposition party and adapt themselves to the current terrible political situation. In this respect, it can be said the KCIA's recent operation was successful. Now the staff officials and officers of the US embassy and the US occupation army can say loudly "Look, south Korea

has no other alternative." It must be really fortunate for them.

Thus Pak Jung Hi's "great" leadership power is established. However malignant this power may be, it is the only possibility which the people of south Korea are compelled to accept at present. A challenge to it means ruin. The ruling party under his control now says bombastically that it hopes for "the satisfactory solution of the question of the New Democratic Party" and "the display of united strength for the normal function of the National Assembly so as to live up to the expectations of the people." This is like whipping a man in chains for his failure to run.

The authority of terrible power is free from any restrictions, and nothing is impossible to its determined mind. It is the government itself that commits the most serious terrorist outrages upon the people. If it makes up its mind not to let Mr. Kim Yong Sam become the Opposition leader, he is done for. Mr. Kim Yong Sam was aware of this. It was for that reason that when he was given an advice that the Opposition should take a firmer stand, he quietly told the advisers to wait a bit more until he would consolidate his leadership of the party at the coming national convention, so I hear. Removing such possibility must have been the chief objective of KCIA's recent plot.

It is also rumored that in order to bring those considerably faithful Opposition members to veer to the side of the non-main-stream group the KCIA made every possible effort, first of all, to buy off National Assemblymen and agents of men of influence. Because of this, some of the Opposition leaders, for fear of los-

ful echo:

"In future I'll strive to create an atmosphere in which things will be solved democratically in a peaceful and orderly way without recurrence of violence. If that really happens, I'll call a national convention at any time in order to reconstruct the party and readjust its ranks."

Nothing is possible without permission from the Pak regime's KCIA. To be exact, nothing is possible without the approval of Pak Jung Hi behind it. A presbyter told me disdainfully:

"Though we think the game is up now, we feel like holding expectations. It may be because man is a being that cannot live without hope. The Pak regime is afraid of the people so much. For all this, the letter of complaint on the March First Declaration case claims that an attempt was made to destroy the revitalization system unanimously supported by the entire people. What a shameless thing! I have nothing to say about such brazen-faced thugs. Here, light went out already long ago. I want to go somewhere like those who went away to Siberia or Manchuria in the days of Japanese rule. For even a very dim light of fire flickering abroad moved the hearts of young people at home in those days."

STRUGGLE, SONGS AND SUFFERINGS

The people want to speak of really many things. Here is an episode in the shape of encouragement

of mixed food. Thirty per cent of the content of a lunch-box has to be minor cereals. Lunch-boxes were formerly examined by school authorities. But, suddenly the job was undertaken by city education authorities. Then an inspection group from the Blue House visited schools without any previous notice, throwing the latter into confusion. On the occasion it even gave an instruction as to upholding the intention of the superior who is concerned with state finance. This was because a strict order had come from Pak Jung Hi. Now there has been a sudden increase in the number of those children who claim that they have not brought lunch-boxes. Then their things at hand are checked up on. It is unhappy to say that, young as they are, these children have a hidden consciousness that their behaviour is a kind of resistance to the detestable power. Does the contention with power begin from so young in this country? Power has now gone so far as to examine their belongings in an attempt to crush even their insignificant resistance.

Such a changed form of resistance occurred at Seoul University, too. It was the opposition to the establishment of a chair of the Japanese language. Of course, the chair was founded by force in the end. But nothing has been heard of it since then. Now the government, however, is making a fuss about a "movement for the purification of the national language." The movement was started with a voice from Pak Jung Hi. Is there no one in this country but him who is concerned about the present state of national culture? Using foreign languages for signboards or applying foreign names to the shops in Korean characters is prohibited.

Meanwhile, in the confused state of affairs produced by the fighting within the New Democratic Party, many topics have been discussed to cloud the mind of the people all the more. Among others, everybody was shocked at the news that the culprit involved in the "illegal loan of 7,400 million *won*" case had been allowed out. Abusing his authority he had squandered bank money to the tune of 7,400 million *won*. So he had been sentenced to ten years in prison at the Supreme Court in December last year. It is said, however, that on the pretext of high blood-pressure he was released with a suspension of execution. How can such a case be dealt with so leniently? It is said that, of the 7,400 million *won*, some has been used by the criminal himself and the rest, in fact, offered to high-ranking officials. In this sense, too, the state power is a hotbed of crime. One cannot but deplore this state of affairs.

The US House of Representatives reportedly passed without amendment a bill for aid to south Korea while expressing concerns for the problem of human rights there. Needless to say, this means a victory for the Pak regime. One friend told me that it resulted from the consideration for the election in the Democratic Party of the United States.

However, I can't forbear thinking of the despicable behaviour of the Ford Administration. When it speaks of the problem of human rights in south Korea, it expresses its concern for it, but it does not fail to add that south Korea is in a specific condition owing to its confrontation with the north. This means that it basically approves the Pak regime's suppression though it is obliged to make a critical word about it for fear

of criticism from the Congress or public opinion of the United States.

It must be said that American pressure still has a great influence upon the Pak regime. The Ford Administration just backs the Pak regime while deliberately claiming that it has no influence upon it. It is no exaggeration to say that the politics of south Korea is as ever in the grip of the US CIA. As M.P. Fraser's statement on the withdrawal of the US army had given rise to public discussion, many people were watching how it would result. The KCIA worked upon many organizations to get them to issue statements against his statement. The US embassy, too, appeared to be apprehensive of it. But there was a hush all of a sudden. Even the influence being exerted on a pro-Pak regime Christian sect is also said to have stopped. One of those concerned said with a doubtful expression:

"I don't understand the reason why the government which urged us to send a statement in protest against M.P. Fraser and American churches has suddenly told us not to do anything. I hear that some organizations have already sent written protests. We, too, prepared one at great pains but were dissuaded from sending it. In the American churches, too, there seems to be a slow move of persons under the influence of the Ford Administration or our government."

I wonder if the international movement of fascism is striving to install reactionaries even within the Christian churches. It may be called a roll-back tactic. This has probably made the Pak regime more confident of itself. Around June 5 a large number of priests were arrested. Rumors are now afloat in Seoul that a big case

will be trumped up to label even Christians as Reds. Similar arrests are going on throughout the country. A general comment is that it is a reaction to the defeat of Fraser's amended bill on south Korea in the United States House of Representatives.

I am afraid lest critical persons in the south Korean Christian churches should be expelled to a lonely island in the distant sea. The trial of the case of the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation seems to be drawing international attention. This is reported in the press though in a few lines. Other numerous trials are left in the dark. Even the trial of Mr. Kim Ji Ha is not reported at all in the papers. The multitudes of unknown people are tortured, murdered and tried in secret. The thought of them is more than I can bear. While pretending to make public the details of the trial of the case of the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation, a veil is drawn over all other cases in fact. Behind it are taking place countless unfold tragedies.

The KCIA's manoeuvre to split the Roman Catholic Church is said to be nearly finished. It finds an excuse for its splitting manoeuvre in the fact that the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation was read out at a Catholic mass held in the Myong-dong Cathedral. Reportedly it accused the church of having politicized the mass. Weren't the Catholics involved in the case in which the Protestants held the leadership? The Declaration was read by Mrs. Li U Jong. This was the first time that a woman was allowed to stand on the Catholic altar. They say this is quite impious. Spineless fellows find relief in such a pretext

and close their eyes to the miserable reality of today. Priest and believers are said to have lodged a joint protest with the Cardinal against his inclination to criticism. And a rumor has it that forty-seven important figures of the Roman Catholic Church sent a joint petition to the Vatican. It is said that in it, they went so far as to ask the Pope to have political-minded Cardinal Kim stay in Rome for at least two to three years.

The loneliness of the people fighting in these circumstances is more than one can presume. Even though they cry out for democracy in court, while courageously fighting with the prosecution and judiciary, their cries reach not farther than the ears of less than one hundred comrades present there. Can they overcome this loneliness? Or will they not become the rabid minority and give way excessively to feelings? Thus, will they not get narrow-minded enough to condemn everyone and regard the weak people as the enemy, instead of sympathizing with them? This thought makes me feel very melancholy. Fortunately, however, they still have songs to sing even amid the sufferings. Some young men, tipping their glasses of beer before me, sang as follows:

Marronniers may be in bloom even now
The spring rain fell while tears fell.
I long to see you in the masterless village of wine
O, I've drunk youth, love and all

I more than once thought over the sad days in the 1920's and 1930's. Those people are certainly the mi-

will be trumped up to label even Christians as Reds. Similar arrests are going on throughout the country. A general comment is that it is a reaction to the defeat of Fraser's amended bill on south Korea in the United States House of Representatives.

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I more than once thought over the sad days in the 1920's and 1930's. Those people are certainly the mi-

nority. They, however, should not be considered to be the minority alienated from the masses. They are not self-conceited heroes. They are the afflicted spokesmen for the silent maltreated people. They are young people who are forced to sacrifice themselves for the people. If the reality gets darker with the passage of time, their singing will probably turn into a wail. Then they will feel still more lonely. But their wailing will be the very sobbing of the south Korean people. As long as there is that wail, they will never become slaves. On the contrary, they think that the dawn will break then. This is our nation's consciousness of history, the nation which has lived in severe history. Songs and ideas must be born of the struggle. Songs touching the heart-strings of the people cannot be born of the oppressors. So the ideas forecasting the future. Their song went on:

I love my native place
Where I lived in the past.
But who lives there now?

Young as they are, they have to sing songs of recollections. This world might be something like the paradise lost. Suddenly a man began to speak:

"Now, out of prison, we are at a loss what to do and how. But we are never disappointed. As we have no money to buy medicine we are practising yoga these days. We are teaching it to the poor people. Don't drop tears for us."

The words "expelled intellect" flashed across my brain. My heart was filled with the hope that they would shape the future history of our nation, not getting cor-

rupted even in such sufferings. It was a really rare sweltering night for May.

June 4, 1976

THE CHURCHES AND TRIALS

The campaign to support the accused in the trial for the case of the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation was carried on mainly by the churches. The South Korean Council of Christian Churches set up a countermeasure committee. Some 100 people got together again on the eve of the trial of May 29 to have a prayer meeting

The following prayer was read there. "Jesus was killed because he pointed out injustice with increasing vigor. History begins with the murder of a righteous man by injustice. Herod was a despot Did he not kill the innocent babes? Who is the despot of today?" According to them, the prison is the cross and, when it is carried on the back, the day of history will begin to break.

Their church is surely an eyesore to the Pak regime. If a student attends such a meeting, he is purged from his school. But the Thursday prayer meetings are continuously held by these people with the families of the arrested as the central figures. These days they offer up prayers stealthily, making a house-to-house visit to the families of the arrested. There, too, the families are

said to pray: "Would that they regard the prison as the place of glory instead of cursing it!" It happened one day after such a prayer meeting.

The singing of a song was heard from there. The wives of the arrested were singing:

Like a morning dew
My grief trickles drop by drop,
When I have a slight smile
Atop a morning hill.

They gather together for a prayer meeting even on the morning of the court day. And when the prayers are over, they hurry to the court. On the Sunday after the trial they assemble at the Galilee Church. It is a small assembly of about 30 people, but if there was no KCIA suppression, such a gathering would spread all over the country like a prairie fire. It may be the KCIA's policy to keep them from their universities like isolated islets. Therefore, the sufferings of those evicted slum-dwellers, who take part in it, are now endless. The church was erected by no more than 12 or 13 families. Nevertheless, the KCIA seems to be making all its effort to stamp out the movement of this slum church. It is said that the six or seven slum missionaries related to the *sarangbang* church have all been arrested. And a rumor is openly put into currency that they have been disseminating communism instead of Christianity. *Sarangbang* is an old term for a drawing room, and *sarang* means love. So their song runs as follows:

The Kingdom of Heaven is visible.

We aren't afraid of this world.
We are weak, without strength.
But, united as one,
We'll show great strength.

I could not but be surprised when I saw their written prayers. A passage runs like this:

"Pray do not let our attention be directed to a trifling thing; grant us grace and wisdom so that we will do significant work, paying attention only to important things; see that we are not so impetuous as to go before the Lord without waiting for you; do protect the politics and people of this country. Would that peace and freedom be everlasting by dint of your power!..."

It is replete with a beautiful thought. They pray to the Lord that they should not blame others for their blunders but reproach themselves for their own faults. They also pray that they should not always solicit for favor like children but "bestow favours on others." The words quoted below are its zenith, I should say.

"For those people falling and crumbling, for the hearts torn, for the tears of the poor, for those under merciless surveillance, and for our brothers, believers and teachers imprisoned without warrant, we pray...."

I was lost in thoughts with a copy of this prayer in my hand. The slumdwellers' intellectual and moral standards are really high. I had been ignorant of this reality, for which I should be ashamed. What a reckless attempt it is to rule these people with the conception of violence! The south Koreans are such a people, and this is probably why the Pak regime on its part is re-

sorting to suppression by violence, thinking in despair that they can hardly rule the people.

It must be noted that the slumdwellers have almost inexhaustible potential. How should I explain their strong fighting will that has never been daunted although they have had their tents destroyed and suffered imprisonments scores of times? The struggle cultivates their spirit of surmounting hardships. In the midst of hardships they extend thanks, reproach themselves, pray to God for others' sake and aspire after freedom and peace. It is a great spirit. This spirit is now withering due to political violence. How on earth is it possible to make the positive use of this strength of the nation? These little known people, too, are said to show up around the court when the signers to the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation are tried.

First of all, I must report on the trial of May 29. That day Mr. Kim Dae Jung withdrew his declaration of the previous day on the right to keep silent and was going to answer the questions put by the prosecution. But he was not allowed. Let me first introduce the answers made by Li Mun Yong, former professor of political science of Koryo University.

Li: "I've grown weak because I've been fed with soy bean meals provided by the government. May I speak over the mike like the prosecution?"

Public Procurator (PP): "You must not. We'll not use the mike, either. Had they, all the dismissed professors, decided to sign the March First Declaration?"

Li: "As for us, we do not do such a thing as to

order henchmen, as a certain person does to decide everything by submission. We are not machines, so we had to think our thoughts. We only heard their opinions and let them decide themselves."

PP: "Did you call for the abolition of the Revitalization Constitution, the repeal of the Emergency Decrees and the release of the arrested students?"

Li: "Democracy in my conception is...."

PP: "You need not explain. Just answer what you are queried."

Li: "Please, be patient and listen. The alleged violations of the Revitalization Constitution and the Emergency Decrees for which you are going to accuse me of a crime are all related to my invariable faith. You are sure to be able to charge a crime on me, so take it easy and listen to me with patience. I thought that a dismissed professor should, of course, sign it. In olden times, the cow offered on the altar had to be a good one. The professors who stood on justice, taught it and were expelled from the universities for that reason can represent all the professors of south Korea.

"The primary function of a government is to respect the fundamental rights of the people. For a government to have powers, it must obtain the approval of the people. If these are lacking, the people have to exercise the right to dissolve it. The people are the master. If they consider you to be unfit, you should retire. The

present government should announce a timetable for democratization at least.

"The Revitalization Constitution, economic growth, etc., are not the boast of our country. The March First Independence Movement, April 19 Democratic Revolution and the movement for the restoration of democracy in the 70's are our pride. Defiling this great history of the nation, the prosecution brought an indictment against us who have striven to carry it forward."

PP: "It is forbidden to encourage a rumor. Aren't you told that the discussion of the Revitalization Constitution has been prohibited since the national referendum?"

Li: "How can a polling that does not ask pro and con be called to be valid? They think nothing of wielding authority to make the 56 per cent approval into a 100 per cent one. This, however, tells that they have to get even such a sort of approval from the people."

The answers of Prof. Li Mun Yong were welcomed time and again with uproarious laughters and applauses of the observers. This incurred a grave warning of the presiding judge. Now let me introduce the answers of Prof. Mun Dong Hwan.

PP: "Did you sign the statement in protest against the arrest of Kim Ji Ha?"

Mun: "Yes, I did. Kim Ji Ha is a truth seeker. A man who seeks truth is bound to go in for Christianity. Kim Ji Ha is not a Communist. Marx, too, was

a man who searched for truth. However, it should be perfected by the love of Jesus Christ. It is natural that Kim Ji Ha paid attention to Marx who had lived under the same concern as he had about the persecuted people. It is also natural that he approached to Jesus Christ. Among the Christian theologians, those who are concerned about the persecuted people would naturally probe into Marx."

PP: "By what motive did you sign the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation?"

Mun: "Firstly, it is because I wanted to become a man worthy of the name. I should unfold my thought to my friends, make the best selection and act according to it. But I was unable to do so. If I remain silent hereupon, I will cease to be a human being. It's equal to death. Secondly, viewed from the standpoint of Christianity, bestowing the absolute right on a man is to worship idols. We are told not to oppose the Revitalization *Constitution and the emergency decrees.* The judiciary and prosecution seem to be no better than me. Idol worship must be removed. As I committed a crime of entering the ministry, I could not but protest against it. Thirdly, the spirit of the March First is most precious to our nation, and I had to recall it on the March First anniversary last. Without a faith in the spirit of the March First and without such a sacrifice, this nation has no future before it. That faith has been crushed ever since the enforcement of the Re-

present government should announce a timetable for democratization at least.

"The Revitalization Constitution, economic growth, etc., are not the boast of our country. The March First Independence Movement, April 19 Democratic Revolution and the movement for the restoration of democracy in the 70's are our pride. Defiling this great history of the nation, the prosecution brought an indictment against us who have striven to carry it forward."

PP: "It is forbidden to encourage a rumor. Aren't you told that the discussion of the Revitalization Constitution has been prohibited since the national referendum?"

Li: "How can a polling that does not ask pro and con be called to be valid? They think nothing of wielding authority to make the 56 per cent approval into a 100 per cent one. This, however, tells that they have to get even such a sort of approval from the people."

The answers of Prof. Li Mun Yong were welcomed time and again with uproarious laughters and applauses of the observers. This incurred a grave warning of the presiding judge. Now let me introduce the answers of Prof. Mun Dong Hwan.

PP: "Did you sign the statement in protest against the arrest of Kim Ji Ha?"

Mun: "Yes, I did. Kim Ji Ha is a truth seeker. A man who seeks truth is bound to go in for Christianity. Kim Ji Ha is not a Communist. Marx, too, was

a man who searched for truth. However, it should be perfected by the love of Jesus Christ. It is natural that Kim Ji Ha paid attention to Marx who had lived under the same concern as he had about the persecuted people. It is also natural that he approached to Jesus Christ. Among the Christian theologians, those who are concerned about the persecuted people would naturally probe into Marx."

PP: "By what motive did you sign the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation?"

Mun: "Firstly, it is because I wanted to become a man worthy of the name. I should unfold my thought to my friends, make the best selection and act according to it. But I was unable to do so. If I remain silent hereupon, I will cease to be a human being. It's equal to death. Secondly, viewed from the standpoint of Christianity, bestowing the absolute right on a man is to worship idols. We are told not to oppose the Revitalization Constitution and the emergency decrees. The judiciary and prosecution seem to be no better than me. Idol worship must be removed. As I committed a crime of entering the ministry, I could not but protest against it. Thirdly, the spirit of the March First is most precious to our nation, and I had to recall it on the March First anniversary last. Without a faith in the spirit of the March First and without such a sacrifice, this nation has no future before it. That faith has been crushed ever since the enforcement of the Re-

vitalization Constitution. This pains me. How will we carry it forward? We wanted to hand it down to our posterity. Now I'll give the fourth reason which is most decisive. The Bible teaches that the light should be put not under measure but on a candlestick. It's God's order that the light be turned on the people. I could not keep silence."

PP: "So you were going to agitate the popular masses, weren't you?"

Mun: "If there is freedom, some people will share the same view with one another, and other people will work from other angle. This nation, I think, is a highly civilized people capable of passing fair judgment."

PP: "Isn't the statement distorting the reality?"

Mun: "The reality can be viewed from different angles. There are people who have become richer under the present system, though many people quitted the countryside and have come up to towns to commit crimes. Our country has joined in disregarding the opinions of the persecuted people, supporting the division of the world by the have states. In addition to it, it has trampled underfoot democracy and human rights at home, arousing public discussion on a worldwide scale. It is not so?"

As the confrontation with the prosecution became fierce, even the presiding judge took Prof. Mun Dong Hwan to task. This provoked the counsel's retort. It demanded that since the case was made out of words, the

defendants shou'd be allowed to speak to the full. Then followed the questioning to National Assemblyman Chong Il Hyong, *the accused without detention.* The prosecution first asked if he had been previously convicted of a crime other than the violation of the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace during "Japanese rule." Do they look upon a crime charged under the Law for Maintenance of the Public Peace during Japanese imperialist rule as a previous conviction? Let me give a brief summary of the answers made by National Assemblyman Chong Il Hyong and others who were questioned.

M.P. Chong: "I think it a shame that pastors, priests and professors spoke what the opposition party should do. It's only a matter of difference between the government and us in the view on the situation. It is hoped that the matter will not be rendered more serious in the interests of the country."

Mr. Ham Sok Hon: "We are all judged by history. I should like to be tried in a standing posture. Originally I was to assume full responsibility, but things have come to this pass due to my mistake. Even though the people made a blunder, the government should see through their real intention. Nevertheless, it is hard at imposing a crime upon us like this. This is regrettable. Why can't court be open to the public? Shouldn't we tell in the presence of the people why we" [illegible] no choice but to speak so? A revolt is not [illegible] to break out even if many people come [illegible]

is it? Why do you fear and keep a close watch? ...I was to read the Declaration, but resigned because I was told that my voice was too exciting. The Declaration was handed over to Japanese reporters on March I."

Mrs. Li Tae Yong: "In such an age as we do now live in we could not pass the March First anniversary without doing anything. When Mr. Kim Dae Jung called on me and told me about the Declaration, I thought he was a really respectable person. I was on the wrong side of sixty and, thinking my days were numbered, did not, to my regret, sign it, for I intended to apply myself to the work of the family legal advice office. As the wife of Chong Il Hyong, I just handed the Declaration over to Mr. Yun. Our government gets hysterics when given even a little advice. The written complaint is too malicious."

Priest Sin Hyon Bong: "I should like to speak a few words before the trial. As a father who should defend the Bible containing the words of God, the truth and justice of God and the consciousness and dignity of man, I insist on the rescission of the Revitalization Constitution and the Emergency Decrees. Our church joined the supporters of this demand in 1974 when Bishop Chi Hak Sun was imprisoned. I should have naturally rejected this trial as a man negating the Revitalization Constitution and the Emergency Decrees, but I made up my mind to appear in this court to make clear the rightfulness and conscience of a priest."

Pastor Li Hae Dong: "The allegation that the Declaration is too strongly worded is ascribable to fear. The people all think it natural to say so. You call me a political pastor, but is it not politics to maintain existence after all? As a pastor I've only striven to fulfil my mission. I've been taken here not for anything I've done, I've just followed them. However, since I am here, I'm going to tell what should be told."

As for Pastor Mun Ik Hwan, the prosecution did not ask him about the contents of the Declaration. Thereupon, Pastor Mun himself demanded the prosecution to question him about it. The conduct of the prosecution was interpreted as an attempt to give him the verdict of guilty without asking him about the contents of the Declaration while questioning only of action. So, the counsel pressed upon the bench, questioning, "Is it possible to query in cross-examination what is not questioned by the prosecution?" The judiciary gave a vague answer.

As priests and pastors, they might be stranger to the solemnity of the court meant by the authorities. Since they were tried by the law whose legality was not recognized by anyone, they might regard the trial as a puppet show from the outset. When his name was referred to during the questioning of other defendants, Father Ham Se Ung jumped to his feet and demanded he be allowed to speak about it. This provoked boisterous laughter of the observers. Someone even wondered if it was not a meeting. The presiding judge rebuked Ham, saying: "What do you think of a trial? You can speak when your turn comes round." Such is the court

under dictatorial rule, a court recognized by none, neither the popular masses nor the defendants. When the trial was over, the spectators gave cheers three times at the top of their voices.

Meanwhile, the families were waging their struggle outside courthouse, refusing to be admitted into the court devoid of a free atmosphere. The wives paraded the street, wearing *chima* and *chogori* of light lilac and carrying fans in their hands. It was a silent demonstration. Purple is the symbol of sufferings and victory. One side of the fans was inscribed with "In Peace; An Open Court; Democratic Families March First" and the other side with "Long Live Democracy; In Liberty." The ribbons pinned on their breasts were written with "We Oppose Violence." The police took the fans from the families, and carried the women away by buses. This happe[illegible] ound half past twelve. I hear the police and K[illegible] n unable to c[illegible] n themselves as the wi[illegible] n to sing a[illegible]

Great, indeed, is the struggle of the families and especially the wives of the imprisoned. They are struggling, encouraging one another with the words that as their husbands had gone to prison with bombs in their arms, they should make the sacrifice worthwhile. When the following words reached my ears, I was moved to tears. I felt like hanging upon something.

"I told my husband that he should entrust everything to God and not worry over what was talked at the court. His faith will be deepened. God will not abandon him. I told him to win and win."

"Mr. Kim Dae Jung declines a special interview, demanding that all people be equally treated. He told his family that it had better keep quiet in order not to be charged for using it for political purpose."

"It's now three months since my husband was imprisoned, so he will be better adapted to the prison life from now on. He told me: 'Upon release each of us will take charge of five purged students and live together with them. We'll give them joint lessons alternatively and everything will be all right.' As he talked too fantastic things, I told him to set his feet firmer on the ground."

It is thanks to world public opinion that they can struggle this much. I sincerely hope it will not fall into silence. To be sure, there are not many free countries in this world. In many countries the government authorities are perpetrating the most dread terrorism. I hope world public opinion will not regard, on that account, the present situation in south Korea as a matter of course. Such corrupt order must be broken up somewhere. The struggle in south Korea

is a link in the whole chain and, in a certain sense, the beginning of that process. We are sure of this.

June 4, 1976

LONELINESS

While undergoing the "Homeland Reserve Force" training a local youth was detained for his disobedience to an order. He refused to have his hair cut in soldierly style for the day's training. Thus he will be thrown out of employment.

It is said that some schools have shown their loyalty by voluntarily raising the proportion of minor cereals in food to 50 per cent from 30 per cent, the figure set by the authorities on Pak Jung Hi's personal order for the encouragement of mixed food. Do they think there is no other way but to display utmost allegiance to the superior's orders for their existence? If one betrays his dissatisfaction, he is not only dismissed from his office but put behind the bars to suffer torture.

Close-mouthed though they are, newspapers cannot keep silent about the affair of mixed food. At a certain school the penalty of one-week cleaning is imposed on those pupils who fail to bring their lunch with rice mixed with other cereals amounting to more than 50 per cent of the content. Or they are kept standing in the corner during school hours. And their parents are summoned to the school for a written explanation. Func-

tions are held to commend the pupils who bring the lunch-boxes containing the largest proportion of cereals. Sometimes, pupils are given their exact percentile scores in morals according to the proportion of the cereal content, and their parents are informed of this for confirmation. There are even cases of taking away the lunch-boxes on the ground of low percentage of minor cereals. Those poor pupils who cannot carry lunch with them, too, are regarded as defaulter in respect of compound food and given reduced marks in morals.

As expected, the Central Election Administration Committee announced that Kim Yong Sam ceased to be the chief of the New Democratic Party. It claimed that the term of the party's chief or president expired with its national convention. As the convention on May 25 fell through due to violence, Kim Yong Sam's mainstream group held a congress in the building of the New Democratic Party. Yet, the committee, while disapproving the election of the Party's head at that time, said that it considered the congress to be effected. No one dare resist this KCIA's sinister machination. Resigning his presidential post, Kim Yong Sam said: "My mission in the last extremity is to keep the New Democratic Party alive. I haven't the smallest intention of holding on to presidency." He abandoned his post, considering that one had no chance of winning in the fight with the KCIA and that it would only continue to bring disgrace on himself. Newspapers reported that in his resignation statement made public on June 11 there was the following passage:

"Together with all of you, the people and comrades

party members, I am really grieved over the situation of our New Democratic Party.... I cannot but feel sorry for the lot of the people who have no choice but to live in this age of contradictions when logics of common sense are denied and even the sophism that reverses black and white is justified.... Even if one can reverse black and white, he can never deprive me of my patriotism and partisan spirit. Such a trick may work temporarily, but it will be given a severe judgment of history some time...."

This is how things stand with the politics and opposition parties under Pak Jung Hi's Revitalization System. No one can survive the KCIA manoeuvrings. One can keep himself alive only in the status of slave. The KCIA caused people's disappointment in the Opposition by means of the above-mentioned act of violence, did its utmost to defame Mr. Kim Yong Sam and has, at last, disqualified him for party head through the agency of the Central Election Administration Committee. The people were so disappointed that they have become senseless.

Kim Yong Sam was once very much misunderstood for his comparatively mild character. In a sense, among those called the supreme Opposition leaders he may be the last man to become a stooge of the Pak regime. A notorious man of influence in the Opposition who belongs to non-main-stream group and has served the government as a cat's paw is said to go on a trip abroad. It may be his wish that during his absence the Opposition will undergo a change as planned. Thus the Pak regime is deposing opposition party leaders. It

buys over the majority and then degrades those rallied around their leader to seceders devoid of leadership power and to narrow-minded and single-track ones. In the course of this strife, it completely runs the leader to be expelled down like anything through the majority, that is, through the mouth of the Opposition.

Mr. Kim Yong Sam hopes his resignation will lead to the convocation of a new national convention and the salvation of the Party. Has not Mr. Kim also been too indulgent to the Pak regime? It is impossible to fight the enemy without knowing his true colours. He might be obliged to fight to the utmost in the given time and meet his fate, instead of considering his future political prospect under the Pak regime. A fighting person should not think of prolonging his life. He must think that dawn of democracy will break over many heroic deaths in struggle. It may be for this reason that the dissident south Koreans get laughed at for being prone to "radical heroism."

Even though a KCIA stooge lurks in the Opposition, he cannot be denounced freely. Because, without leaving any clue to his activity, he manages the situation behaving himself as if he were committed to the cause of justice. And usually, a man of the sort cries louder than others for the unity of the opposition party. He may as well have contacts with the KCIA at the midnight curfew, when KCIA men with nighttime passes ride about in a lordly manner.

How will Mr. Kim Yong Sam make effective use of this bitter experience? I wonder if he has now come to get a good insight into the Pak regime's horrible falsehood. Submission to the KCIA will always lead to

the path of compromise with it. As he vented himself a little, he may escape from the reality for the comfort of his mind and body. Or, like Kim Dae Jung, he may take the road of resistance followed by the minority. If so, he will become all the more spiritual and worthy of a martyr.

Won't the honest-minded minority doggedly persist in their demand at the scheduled national convention?

Court trials have not been published at all in newspapers. Among the trials buried in oblivion is the trial of Pastor Ko Yong Gun who is known as a pious believer. About a local trial conducted on May 19, a friend of mine told me under his breath:

"I found about one hundred observers including twenty pastors were present at the court despite strict surveillance. When the prosecution queried him if he had really uttered that the Tongil-gyo Church was aligned with the government, he squarely answered: 'The Tongil-gyo Church is a church practising frauds to such a degree that even Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil made a congratulatory speech at its national congress. When its members were on a local tour of anti-communist lecture an official document was sent out to local government and public offices to the effect that they should treat them as persons of importance after their identity papers were confirmed. They work as KCIA's stooges abroad.' His answer roused the chief judge's gorge, but the defendant did not tone down his censure in the least. 'The government limited per-grave area to two *pyong*. But Pak Jung Hi allotted no less than two thousand *pyong* for his wife's graveyard. Then, who is it that violates the law? Moreover, he

mobilized four million citizens for her funeral. All the government officials are criminals. The March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation is great. Just as it does, I also call for justice.' He said like this."

Pastor Ko Yong Gun had preached a sermon on the same tune in a local revival and was arrested for it, I was told. Such forensic argument, fair and square, deserves praise. But this may bring them additional sufferings. In the trial related to the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation, too, the government intends to conclude it as soon as possible. Because it does not want to attract so much public attention abroad So, it is said that the first instance will be wound up by July at the latest. The counsel seems to be delaying it. It is supposed, however, that some will be released on bail but the most tough elements—those who cannot be set at liberty from political consideration—will be left as they are An attempt may be made to decrease the attention and support of public opinion by keeping a small number of prisoners as hitherto done And this minority will include those who strongly maintained their position in court Nowadays, in south Korea the term of "retaliative crime" is in use. This implies that a charge can be faked against any hateful person.

There is also an unceasing rumor about the counsels for the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation. Practising lawyers are not so vehement in their pleading The lawyers who are at the same time Opposition National Assemblymen can show a firm front But the government manoeuvres to win them

over. It strongly advises them to make a trip abroad for diplomatic activities as National Assemblymen. There may be some who are unable to withstand such a temptation, because threats go with it. So, some of them are said to intimate that even a foreign travel will not make them give up their defense of the case. With a view to keeping this case in isolation, the KCIA will try harder to have it dissociated with the public and sever its relations with foreign countries.

Church leaders are said to have been shocked at the disruption of the New Democratic Party caused by the affair of violence. It is hard to tell when the churches face the same situation. Today the churches barely subsist thanks to international concern. But their internal dissension deepens day after day. Those who have been bought off by the government are manoeuvring overseas, too. They scheme to wipe out democratic leaders by alienating them from the sympathy of the majority. Arrests are made of these people for the purpose of sounding reaction at home and abroad. So, everyone wore a sad look, saying that if things went on like that, it was very disappointing. They were fearing that if the struggle dragged on the sympathizers would feel languid as well and the authorities intensify their manœuvrings.

Then my friend told me another distressing story. It was about a student who is now in prison with a sentence of seven years' penal servitude. The student, thinking it would be a mere waste of time to stand trial, was going to abandon the idea of lodging an appeal. But, at the news of the imprisonment of many leaders for the March First Declaration for Democracy

and National Salvation, he decided to enter an appeal. Because, he had thought that if penalty had been fixed he might have been removed to a local prison. It was, I hear, because he had wanted to be near Seoul to get even scanty information of the senior fighters and grasp their intentions.

The KCIA lays its hand on his family. It warns his mother if she wants to meet her son whom she had carried on her back while seeking hasty refuge in the confusion of the Korean war, she should not attend meetings of the families of those in custody. The mother has been befooled so long. She is said to have spoken in a loud voice, with tears in her eyes:

"Several months have already elapsed since the trial, but I've not been allowed to see my son even once. He used to tell this poor mother to wait until his graduation from the college. I find solace in the recent imprisonment of all the distinguished figures. I'll attend prayer meetings without fail. This is my only consolation."

Women are becoming more emboldened in the course of the struggle of their children and husbands. Strengthening their faith, they burn with an eager desire to see a world ruled by justice. For the struggle of all these people and for the sake of many trampled, unknown youth and the suffering people, too, the sacrifice of the leaders is unavoidable. Nothing seems to be greater comfort and encouragement to the distressed people than to share sufferings with them. This, however, gives a feeling of sorrow and loneliness.

June 15, 1976

CROSS-EXAMINATION

It is said arrests are being made belatedly now for the slight movement made at a local college on April 19. It appears that the final approval of the bill on aid to south Korea in US Congress has occasioned a wholesale secret arrest throughout the country. As if to hide it, the trial of the case of the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation is open even to foreign journalists. It is also briefed in a few lines by the south Korean newspapers. This is a form of the Pak regime's computerized dictatorship.

The court of June 5, too, was open with the demand of the defendants for the use of a mike. They argued that since the trial was held in a public hearing the observers should hear what they said. But their demand was not met. It seemed many KCIA agents had been withdrawn from the court. There were many vacant seats in the gallery, which meant that court was open only to the families of the accused, not to the general public. The prosecutorial hearing began with aged Pastor Yun Ban Ung. Let me first inform you of the gists of the arguments made by those involved in the case.

Pastor Yun Ban Ung: "It's true that I prayed for

the removal of Pak Jung Hi and his ilks. But, I prayed to God with a pious feeling. Not did I speak it to any human being. We have so far waited in vain for their withdrawal. So, deciding that it was beyond our power, we prayed to God for ousting them by his power. Nothing else we did. The written accusation says that I tried to cause a disturbance by appealing to the people for something. That's not correct. We the people do not like such a tyrant. It's true I preached a sermon at the church in Kangjin, South Cholla Province, on the anniversary of March First Independence Movement. The title of my sermon was 'A Dumb Dog.' I gave that title because in this world all the watchdogs have become blind and unable to bark. Only those who say 'You are quite right, sir' are regarded as the faithful servants and patriots. Thus, pastors like us are arrested and tormented Who do you think can tell this fact, if not a pastor? I ask the bench to pass a fair judgment. We'll see where the imprisonment of churchmen will lead to."

Father Kim Sung Hun: "I'm neither jurisprudent nor political scientist. But, in my view there are too many dark sides in the present state of things. I've no power to remove them. So, in order to pray to God for that I live in this Republic of Korea. It is my eager desire to make this country bright even a little."

Father Mun Jong Hyon: (He kept speaking, defying the judge's repeated orders to get out.) "I cannot, in all conscience, recognize this trial. When children play a match, they choose an umpire independent of both teams. It's funny the case of violation of the pre-

sidential emergency decrees is tried by the judges assigned by Pak Jung Hi. Nevertheless, I'm answering the questions because I want to explain the position of Kim Ji Ha who is blamed as a communist in the written accusation. A priest should believe in the conscience of the faithful and give service for it. Kim Ji Ha sent that Declaration of Conscience to Father Yun Hyong Jung and to the National Priests' Corps. I have not the least doubt of its contents. Meanwhile, the government has told one lie after another since the coup d'etat. He gave his word that he would transfer power to the civilians, but, breaking it, changed his military uniform into plainclothes and installed himself in presidency. He then promised that he would retire at the expiration of the term of office, but remained. To make power secure the ministerialists railroaded by stealth the bill on wartime legislation. How can I keep myself from criticizing these things?"

Father Ham Se Ung: (He was repeatedly threatened with dismissal, and the counsel had to intervene.) "We believers believe in the dignity, liberty, conscience and intellect of man created after the image of God. When these are in danger of being sacrificed, we must put up resistance relying on the strength of our church and the Bible. In 1974, in his 'Declaration of Conscience' Bishop Chi Hak Sun declared: 'We, according to our conscience and the natural law of God, reject the Revitalization Constitution because it is not approved by the people under martial law.' Our church and our priests' corps accep-

ted the 'Declaration of Conscience' as our own and confirm it once again here. It is meaningless and deplorable that we have appeared in court to be tried by the law which we rejected. We are here because we want to tell our just spirit. The word 'food' in Kim Ji Ha's Declaration of Conscience consists with the spirit of Catholicism. Sharing food with each other is the same as receiving the Communion at a mass."

The common spirit underlying the answers of the defendants is how to burden themselves with all that is called a crime so as not to trouble other people and, availing themselves of the opportunity, to talk about their deep-seated faith in democracy as much as possible. Judgment is passed not by the court but by the KCIA on the order from the Blue House. Decision is already given before the trial is concluded. Under the dictatorial Pak regime such a trial is nothing more than a formality designed to deceive public opinion. That is why they want to talk about what they have been unable to do They feel an irresistible impulse to speak. It was, so to speak, almost instinctive.

The churches with such pastors draw little believers, for these people are afraid of consequences. This reminds me of the days of vigorous suppression under Japanese rule. Father Ham was queried what he had talked with Mr. Kim Dae Jung in his interview with the latter. He answered: "A Father, together with his believers, talks about reality according to the words of God It was at such a time that suggestions were offered as to reading mass on the anniversary

of the March First Independence Movement." The prosecution queried, "Wasn't he apprehensive of arrest when he burned up the Declaration for National Salvation?" He asked back, "Is this not a world where people are wantonly arrested even without that sort of thing?" This evoked a burst of laughter in the gallery.

The counsel's cross-examination on June 5 was concentrated on ex-President Yun Bo Son. It asked the judiciary to show it the contents of the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation for its cross-examination. The request was not accepted. Mr. Yun Bo Son challenged in a standing posture for nearly three hours. He first asked why many people were held in custody when there was only the counsel's cross-examination left in the procedure of trial. Then he said:

"Priests, pastors and professors are respected by all the people for their profound faith and noble personality. Old as I am, I also hold them in esteem. Is it not high time now to let them go back home and decide at court whether they are guilty or not? In the capacity of one of the people, not from the standpoint of the accused, I request human beings be treated as human beings."

Such a request, of course, could not have been fulfilled. The use of a mike was not allowed either. His speech, however, was so fierce that he did not look hard on eighty. Here are some of his answers.

Counsel: "It is said in the written accusation that you joined the signers to the March First Declaration

for Democracy and National Salvation out of a desire for political power."

Yun: "How can I, a man of eighty, be ambitious for power? I just gave the government counsel. Political power must be in the hands of a young, competent man. If power is held by an old man like me, it would be more injurious than beneficial. At one time I was with the Opposition and at another time held a governmental post. But I've never insisted on holding any post, though I've declined sometimes. This is not from the spirit of courtesy but it is from the thought that a man superior to me should take power. I signed the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation as one of the people. When I was still under ten years of age, I saw my grandfather praying to God for the promotion of national interests and welfare of the people. I did not know what he meant. Later, when I grew up to understand the meaning a little, I cherished a desire to build up a free, democratic state. But things have come to this pass. The road to the promotion of national interests and welfare of the people is the road to democracy. There is a person who holds the National Assembly and court under his control and suppresses the freedom of speech. Everything is in the hand of this single person. Papers of south Korea keep silence, and articles of foreign newspapers are clipped. Friendly nations, too, are commenting on the present state of our country. This is the evidence of their concern about it. We're becoming an international orphan. With a view to complete dictatorship,

it is alleged that democracy is too weak to prevent communism. But it is only under democracy that a strong order is established. Democracy rests on freedom, justice and order. We are told that European democracy does not fit us, but does what they call the democracy of a south Korean style contain any of those three elements? Every country, whatever it may be, should maintain the three. There may be some difference according to the conditions of the people, but the goal must be the same. (The chief judge intervened.) You accused me of causing national disturbances, so let me speak a little more. They allege that democracy falls short of winning communism. This is an attempt to cover up their real intention. It is a manifestation of selfishness. Today the government of the Republic of Korea is persecuting the people. Therefore, given a chance, people vie with each other to go through the emigration formalities. The present regime has plunged the country in such a condition as we are now in, far from going in for democracy. The Pak regime cannot check communism. Why is the advocation of democracy accused of an act of national disturbances and a plot against the government? This is a slander against those who are concerned about the country."

Counsel: "It seems your career of 80 years leaves no blemish, but in 1974 at the emergency general court-martial you were sentenced to three years' penal servitude and suspension of execution for five years on the charge of violating Emergency Decree No. 4. What was the content of the case?"

Yun: "The students told me they needed money for a demonstration and I offered them 400,000 *won*. For this, I faced four charges, such as national disturbances, agitation, and failure to give notice of it. Does *this mean that I should bring charge against myself?* This is how the law is abused in this country. At that time, I said I would never change my mind even if I were sent to the execution ground. I appealed to the armymen of the court-martial, telling them what would become of this country if young people were put to torture and sentenced to 10 or 20 years' imprisonment."

Counsel: "The written accusation says you denied the Revitalization Constitution."

Yun: "What a shame that they should promulgate a revitalization constitution while talking about democracy! *Internationally the north continues to be at advantage over us.* Our country is regarded as something like an apostate even among the democratic nations. If we do not quickly remedy the present situation, we will face a great misfortune."

Counsel: "The written accusation charges you with the opposition to the Revitalization Constitution which enjoys full support of the people."

Yun: "All the people wish for the repeal of the Revitalization Constitution and Emergency Decree. The public procurator looked good when he called my house, but here he cuts too stiff a figure. Th[illegible].

A public procurator as he is, he must strive to understand the will of the people to some degree. Can't the national unity be achieved without oppressing, suppressing and imprisoning people? The national unity will be possible only when the people's feelings are grasped through dialogue and when the possible mistakes on the part of the government are corrected through reconsideration. Do the KCIA agents comprise half of the population? The people have conversations with each other, watching around them. This is the highest dictatorship which acts at its pleasure by stopping the mouths of all the people. It could be called a free dictatorship as it has its own way in everything. The evil law, too, cannot be called a law. It's far from a law. All this must be rectified as early as possible. The judiciary and prosecution, too, must properly administer just laws."

Counsel: "Do you say it in the interests of the country out of patriotism, not out of the desire to take power?"

Yun: "It's my own thought. I've nothing more to desire particularly. I only wish to see early the day of liberty when the people live joyfully with peaceful mind. I am told that prisons have been newly erected these days to provide accommodation for surplus convicts. I want you not to waste time on the pretext of the Communist Party. The people should be made to render services to the country of their own free will. I feel impatient at the lapse of days. Standing at the end of my life's journey, I only wish to see the revival

of democracy before I pass this world."

Counsel: "Did you demand the release of the students imprisoned by the Emergency Decrees?"

Yun: "Emergency Decree No. 9 is harmful in every way but not beneficial at all. They are labelled as unsound students, but have the accusers ever thought of their patriotism? While studying they could enjoy their school days. They criticized the government because the latter had committed blunders. For that reason they were walked off to the KCIA, maimed and removed from their studies. Their imprisonment is intolerable. The day will come some day when history is set right. People console themselves, thinking that justice will win, but there frequently occur cases in which justice meets with defeat. But, it may be said that injustice is short-lived. The time is due to come when the injustice of this country is judged."

Mr. Yun continued his criticism of the government, assuming such a posture all along. He referred to the work of construction done by the Pak regime for a show, to its neglect of agriculture which is "the mainstay of the country," to its entangled relations with friendly nations, etc. It seemed he could talk without coming to an end.

That day, the families staged a demonstration, carrying yellow umbrellas written with words demanding the release of democratic personages. They did it in protest against the authorities that had broken its promise to remove barricades and policemen allegedly to lessen the tense atmosphere of the court. The umbrellas were wrested and shattered. Concern is shown for Mr.

A public procurator as he is, he must strive to understand the will of the people to some degree. Can't the national unity be achieved without oppressing, suppressing and imprisoning people? The national unity will be possible only when the people's feelings are grasped through dialogue and when the possible mistakes on the part of the government are corrected through reconsideration. Do the KCIA agents comprise half of the population? The people have conversations with each other, watching around them. This is the highest dictatorship which acts at its pleasure by stopping the mouths of all the people. It could be called a free dictatorship as it has its own way in everything. The evil law, too, cannot be called a law. It's far from a law. All this must be rectified as early as possible. The judiciary and prosecution, too, must properly administer just laws."

Counsel: "Do you say it in the interests of the country out of patriotism, not out of the desire to take power?"

Yun: "It's my own thought. I've nothing more to desire particularly. I only wish to see early the day of liberty when the people live joyfully with peaceful mind. I am told that prisons have been newly erected these days to provide accommodation for surplus convicts. I want you not to waste time on the pretext of the Communist Party. The people should be made to render services to the country of their own free will. I feel impatient at the lapse of days. Standing at the end of my life's journey, I only wish to see the revival

of democracy before I pass this world."

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Kim Dae Jung's health which is seriously broken. He is said to awake four or five times at night due to pain. He fights on with his mental power. I cannot help saying with a sigh that it is a long way to reach democracy while the struggle is getting fiercer.

Now I will touch on the trial of June 12. Court was open around 10.20 a.m. A brief report was first given of the contents of the protocol of interrogation at the previous sitting. It had been decided that the gist of the protocol was read out at the court instead of showing it to the counsel. But the contents of the counselor's cross-examination for Mr. Yun Bo Son were completely left out from that gist. At this, the counsel could not but burst with its long pent-up anger. It argued that judiciary was under an obligation to show the protocol to the counsel. The bench insisted that the court had liberty of choice.

Court was declared adjourned. However, according to what was confirmed by the text of the law, that was obligatory even under this dictatorship. So, the counsel attacked the court. It reasoned that the rejection of the defendants' proposal on the use of a mike ran counter to the principle of equality. It even asked if the trial was not a drama prepared beforehand. It also argued that the opening of court on every Saturday was a mean trick not to give the lawyers the time to study. The judge said that it was an insult to the bench, but the counsel retorted that a judge who did not observe the law could hardly lay claim to his post.

Thus, the trial of that day fell through. The families were said to have had their persons searched, but they were holding up on their breasts the lilac-colored

crosses which they had carefully hidden. Moreover, that day five courageous local lawyers joined in the defence counsel. It is said they come up to Seoul on the morning of the court day and return in the evening. Theirs is really free-service defence. It is a great encouragement that such reputed and competent personages have taken part in the ranks of the struggle for human rights.

Here I should like to report briefly on the encouragement given us by Cohen, Professor of Harvard University. On June 10 he was welcomed at the Kimpo Airport by government officials and over 50 KCIA agents. But, he reportedly declined to ride on the car specially arranged by them and went straight to Cardinal Kim by the car of Mr. Kim Dae Jung. Then he met Mr. Yun Bo Son. He attended a gathering of the families of those in detention and addressed a message of encouragement to them. He acted contrary to the itinerary drawn up in advance. This infuriated Pak Jung Hi, I hear. Pak's denunciation of the advocates of civil liberties is becoming more and more emotional.

The pressure brought to bear on the lawyers defending the case of the March First Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation is on the daily increase. Surveillance and restrictions are applied even to personal movements. They are not allowed to meet those defendants who are not detained. Rumor has it that a tax amounting to five million *won* was imposed on the house of Mr. Yun Bo Son. It is said that the taxation was levied taking into account the income to be drawn from letting out all the rooms of the house.

As he failed to pay the tax, all the sources of his income were placed under distraint. People say that he is threatened with the expropriation of his mountains and forests.

Mr. Kim Ji Ha is expected to be tried tomorrow. Many people express their concern about the fact that there has been no change in the attitude of the Pak regime which is resolved to sentence him to death. His life is at stake, to be sure. Having told these things to me today, a friend of mine who knows fairly well the movements within the government whispered in my ear as follows:

"Dissident people related to Christianity are rounded up on a nationwide scale. Missionaries, too, are examined. A case may be invented to involve even Japanese and south Korean nationals in Japan. There is a possibility of fabricating a case of Christian Reds. It seems that agents have been planted among them for a fairly long period to create plausible grounds for it. Something like a general offensive against Christianity is now prepared by the police. By inventing such a case again, the Pak regime is going to cause public discussion in the world. I wonder what it is driving at."

My friend told me in despair that Pak Jung Hi's mentality overwhelmed by uneasiness and hatred is at work to rig up another case which the Pak regime itself can hardly cope with. Such cases that are looked upon by the people with suspicion will recur endlessly with the lapse of time until the collapse of the Pak regime. Pak Jung Hi himself foolishly thinks that he can have

his own way if he gets rid of some people who make resistance at present. And he probably does not know that that resistance is only a small sprout of the silent resistance of the overwhelming majority of the people. He also seems to be unaware of his own character that is apt to be oppressed with anxiety even when quietness reigns over the country. He may be affecting ignorance. Are the selfishness, egotism and fallacy of the dictator of abnormal character so tenacious? And, when I see a group of mean people hoping to live in wealth and authority by supporting him, I occasionally come to despair of a human being itself before thinking of politics and the system.

June 15, 1976



This bestial atrocity practised on patriotic [illegible] makes the world's conscience tremble with [illegible]



The vicious policeman commits a brutal outrage upon wives of those implicated in the case of the "People's Revolutionary Party" to stop their cries of vengeance for the death of their husbands

The students involved in the so-called "case of a spy group in campus" are hauled to court. They are beaming with smile like victors



Family members of the defendants indicted for implication in the case of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation are burning admission tickets in protest against *the illegal trials conducted by the puppet clique*



...ist villains arrest Kim Dae Jung and other ... to the D... ...ation for Democracy and National ...



Wives of those detained on charge of involvement in the case of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation are holding a demonstration in protest against the unfair trial



Family members of the defendants indicted for implication in the case of the Declaration for Democracy and National Salvation are burning admission tickets in protest against the illegal trials conducted by the puppet clique



Professors, too, have joined in the struggle for democracy against the fascist tyranny of traitor Pak Jung Hi